

The University of Chicago

A STUDY OF THE 1516
AND THE 1523 EDITIONS
OF THE
PERLESVAUS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
GRADUATE FACULTY IN CANDIDACY FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Romance
Languages and Literatures

1931

By
ADOLPH BENJAMIN SWANSON

Private Edition, Distributed by
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PREFACE

This study is here published substantially in the same form in which it was submitted and approved in 1931 as a dissertation in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Chicago. A few changes have been made in matters of detail and arrangement, and a fuller treatment has been given to two sub-chapters; otherwise, the study remains the same as when presented as a dissertation.

The subject of this investigation was suggested to me by Professor William A. Nitze of the University of Chicago. To him I wish to express my appreciation for generous advice and friendly criticism in the preparation of this study. I wish also to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Professor T. A. Jenkins for many valuable suggestions, and to Mr. William Roach for his generous aid in reading proof as well as for helpful criticism.

A. B. S.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
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INTRODUCTION

The following dissertation is a study of the two sixteenth-century Black Letter editions of the *Perlesvaus*, which were both published in Paris and bear the dates 1516 and 1523. A study of these editions is of value and interest for the following reasons. In the first place, since it is probable that more manuscripts of the *Perlesvaus* were extant in the sixteenth century than is now the case, and since these early prints were based upon one or more of the then extant manuscripts, a detailed collation of these early editions with the known manuscripts should uncover some information of value in the study of the manuscript tradition of this important romance. In the second place, it is of interest to know in what form the Arthurian romances were adapted for their readers in "that interesting period in French literature when the Middle Ages were slowly and gradually dissolving into the light of the Renaissance" (Tilley). In the following study I shall first describe the sixteenth-century editions of the *Perlesvaus* and discuss their relation to each other; I shall then show their relation to the extant manuscripts; finally, I shall discuss the manner in which they used their manuscript source.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EDITIONS OF THE *PERLESVAUS*

In both the 1516 and the 1523 editions, the *Perlesvaus* is preceded by the Vulgate *Estoire del Saint Graal* and followed by a greatly abridged version of *La Queste del Saint Graal*, the latter containing in addition a brief introductory account of the conception and birth of Galahad. Both editions are small folio in size and are printed in Gothic letter with two columns to the page and forty-five lines to the column. Each edition consists of two volumes in one binding, the first volume containing the *Estoire*, and the second the *Perlesvaus* and the *Queste*. The full title of the 1516 edition reads as follows: *LHYSTOIRE DU SAINCT GREAAAL QUI est le premier liure de la table ronde le quel traicte de plusieurs matieres recreatiues. Ensemble la queste dudict saint greaal faicte par Lancelot/Galaad/ Boors et Perceual/ qui est le dernier liure de la table ronde/ lesq̃lz liures ne furent iamais imprimez iusques a present*. The title of the 1523 edition begins: *CEST LHYSTOIRE DU SAINCT GREAAAL*, and ends: *Nouuellement imprime a Paris*; it has otherwise the exact wording of the title of the earlier edition. Though the entire trilogy is here referred to as *Le Livre de la Table Ronde*, we find this title nowhere else in the book. In the *privilege* the work is called *Le Livre du Saint Greaal*. Elsewhere it is called simply *Le Saint Greaal*, and I shall so refer to it in the following pages.

1. HISTORY OF THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EDITIONS.

Only a few copies of either the 1516 or the 1523 editions of the *Saint Greaal* have been preserved. The British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale have a copy of each edition, and there are a few copies here and there in private collections.¹

¹For descriptions and sale prices of some of these privately owned copies, see Brunet, *Manuel du libraire* (5th ed., 1864), V, 48-49; also his *Supplément* (1880), II, 560-561.

Since they are such excellent specimens of early printing in France, the few copies in existence have been eagerly sought by collectors and have commanded very high prices, a copy of the 1523 edition selling for 7600 francs as long ago as 1865.² Among the privately owned editions, two in particular may be mentioned. One of these, a well-preserved copy of the 1516 edition, is in the Bibliotheca Lindesiana.³ The second is in the J. P. Morgan Library in New York.⁴ This is in reality a copy of the 1516 edition though the title-page of the 1523 edition has been inserted into the volume.

It is difficult to explain why the redactor of the early prints included the *Estoire*, the *Perlesvaus*, and the *Queste* in one book as a continuous story. Certainly the *Perlesvaus* is out of place between the other two. There is, to be sure, a sharp break between the *Estoire*, which occupies the first volume, and the *Perlesvaus*, which forms the first part of the second volume, but there is no such break between the *Perlesvaus* and the *Queste*. The title of the second volume, which reads: *Le second volume du saint greaal contenant la conqueste dudict Greaal / faicte par Lancelot du lac / Galaad Perceual et boors*, shows clearly that the redactor wishes to weld the *Perlesvaus* and the *Queste* into one romance. He makes the articulation between the two very clumsily. When he has finished transcribing the *Perlesvaus*, he goes on immediately with the *Queste* as follows: *Cy commēce la derraine branche du saint greaal. Comment Lancelot du lac veid le saint greaal et en fut repeu*, etc. (211,c,14 ff.). He forgets that there had already been a last branch of the *Perlesvaus* beginning: *La derreniere branche du saint greaal commence icy ou nom du pere et du filz et du saint esperit*. (199,b,27-30). He forgets also that *Perlesvaus* and *Guenevere* had both died in the preceding narrative, for in this last "derreniere branche" they are both alive again.

²See Brunet, *Supplément* (1880), II, 561.

³For description of this copy see *Bibliotheca Lindesiana, a Catalogue of the Printed Books preserved at Haigh Hall, Wigan Co. Pal. Lancast.* (Aberdeen University Press, 1910), II, 3968-3969.

⁴See *Catalogue of Manuscripts, Early Printed Books, and General Works on Medieval Romance Literature* (New York, 1903), p. 16. (Belonging to the Kerr Library, sold to J. P. Morgan, Sr.)

A possible explanation for the inclusion of the three above-mentioned romances in one book is that the sixteenth-century redactor found them copied in the same manuscript and merely transcribed them, awkwardly linking them together to form a sequence. Wechssler thinks that it was not uncommon to find the *Perlesvaus* copied in the same manuscript with the Grail-Lancelot romances even though it has no cyclic connection with them. This fact, he thinks, may have accounted for the adaptation of the first branch of the *Perlesvaus* to form an introduction to the *Queste*, as is the case in two manuscripts of the latter (*Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 120* and *Arsenal MS 3480*). In his description of these two manuscripts Wechssler writes: "Mit dem *Graal-Lancelot-Cyklus* hat der *Perlesvaus* nicht das geringste zu thun. Das aus ihm entnommene Stück unterbricht störend die Erzählung, da wo sie vom Ende des *Lancelot* unmittelbar zur *Queste* hinüberführt. Durch irgend einen Zufall scheint es hierhergeraten zu sein, vielleicht dadurch, dass anderswo *Perlesvaus* und *Queste* vereinigt worden waren. In den Drucken ist dies thatsächlich der Fall. So enthält die Ausgabe von Paris, Philippe le Noir 1523 *Livre del graal, Perlesvaus* und *Queste*, welcher letzteren noch aus dem *Lancelot* die Zeugungsgeschichte des Galaad vorausgeschickt wird."⁵

It is possible, then, that the redactor of the early prints had before him one manuscript containing the *Estoire*, the *Perlesvaus*, and the *Queste*. Not recognizing, or, more likely, ignoring the fact that the *Perlesvaus* was not of the same cycle as the other two, he combined them into one work as a continuous story.

There is, however, a much more probable explanation for the grouping of the three above-mentioned romances in one book. Internal evidence points clearly to the fact that the sixteenth-century redactor was a cleric (cf. pp. 66-68 below). As such, he was much less interested in the external events of the romances than in their spiritual and allegorical interpretation. Now, in the *Perlesvaus* we find the same type of "revealed" religion as in the *Estoire* and the *Queste*. In these romances, more than in any

⁵E. Wechssler, "Handschriften des *Perlesvaus*," *ZrPh*, XX (1896), 81.

other, religious symbolism and allegory are rife. Commenting on the *Estoire* and the *Queste*, J. D. Bruce writes: "That both of these romances are the productions of ecclesiastical workshops has never been questioned and is not likely to be. No one but an ecclesiastic would have possessed in the same degree such learning in matters pertaining to the Bible, to ritual, and to dogma, or such mastery of contemporary methods of allegorical interpretation."⁶ The same strongly ascetic and ecclesiastical spirit characterizes the *Perlesvaus*. Discussing the attitude of the clerical author of this romance towards his own work, W. A. Nitze writes: "The Arthurian stories are to be lifted out of the sphere of human aims and desires and be interpreted in the spirit of religion. The beau ideal of chivalry is to be, not the practice of courtly love nor the quest of mere adventure, but the militant service of Christianity."⁷

The authors of the *Estoire*, the *Queste*, and the *Perlesvaus* were, then, of one mind in wishing to substitute religion for courtly love as the dominating ideal of Arthurian romance. It was no doubt this similarity in tone and spirit which led the clerical redactor of the sixteenth century to select these three romances for his trilogy. It seems, furthermore, that he was particularly interested in the doctrine of the Trinity. The fact that this doctrine is given some prominence in the *Perlesvaus* no doubt greatly influenced him in selecting it for his trilogy rather than one of the romances of the Vulgate Cycle intervening between the *Estoire* and the *Queste*. In any event, it is quite evident that he wished to make the doctrine of the Trinity the unifying element and key-note of his entire work. In the 1516 edition, for example, the upper half of the first column of the text contains a woodcut representing the Trinity with the emblems of the evangelists in the four corners. The introductory words of the text indicate the importance of the Three Persons of the Godhead in the inspiration of the *Estoire*. They run as follows:

⁶*The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (2nd ed., Göttingen and Baltimore, 1928), I, 393. For the best discussion of the religious ideals of the *Queste*, see A. Pauphilet, *Etudes sur la Queste del Saint Graal* (Paris, 1921), pp. 27-84; also E. Gilson, "La Mystique de la grâce dans la Queste del Saint Graal," *Romania*, LI (1925), 321-347.

⁷*Le Haut Livre du Graal Perlesvaus*, ed. by W. A. Nitze and T. A. Jenkins (University of Chicago Press, 1932), I, 16.

Cy commence lhystoire du saint greaal

Celluy qui se tient 7 juge estre en son cueur le moindre et le plus petit 7 est le plus grant pecheur de tous mande salut. Au commencement de ceste haulte hystoire a tous ceulx qui ont mis leur creâce a la sainte trinite. Cest ou pere ou filz 7 ou saint esperit/ ou pere par qui toutes choses sont establies 7 reuiuifiees au commencement de vie/ ou filz par qui toutes choses sont deliurees des peines denfer 7 ramenees a la ioye pardurable qui est sãs fin/ et ou saint esperit/ par qui toutes choses sont asseurees du mauuais esperit 7 remplies de ioye par illumination 7 confort de tout le monde.

After giving three reasons for not wishing to reveal his name, the author tells of Christ's giving him a book, written by His own hand, which would among other things dispel all his doubts concerning the Trinity. A little later he swoons, is borne up to Heaven, and is permitted to behold the Three Persons, thereby having all his doubts removed.

In the *Perlesvaus*, the doctrine of the Trinity is less emphasized than in the *Estoire*, but even here it is given considerable prominence. It is significant that six of its eleven branches (as given in MS O) begin in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The fact that there are three Grail quests in the *Perlesvaus* also indicates the importance of the mystical number three in this romance. Most significant of all, Branch I, which serves as a kind of prologue to the entire work, begins with an invocation to the Trinity which can leave no doubt as to the importance of this doctrine in the inspiration of the *Perlesvaus*. In the original romance, this invocation reads as follows (Nitze-Jenkins ed. ll. 1-15):

LI estoires du saintisme vessel que on apele Graal, o quel li precieus sans au Sauveeur fu receüz au jor qu'il fu crucefiez por le pueple rachater d'enfer: Josephes le mist en remembrance par la mencion de la voiz d'un angle, por ce que la veritez fust seüe par son escrit e par son tesmoignage, de chevaliers e de preudomes, coment il voldrent soffrir painne e travail de la loi Jhesu Crist

essaucier, que il volst renoveler par sa mort e par son crucefiement.

LI hauz livres du Graal commence o non du Pere e du Fill e du Saint Esperit. Cez trois persones sont une sustance, e cele sustance si est Dex, e de Dieu si muet li hauz contes du Graal; e tuit cil qui l'oent le doivent entendre, e oblier totes les vilenies qu'il ont en leur cuers, car il iert molt porfitables a toz cex qui de cuer l'orront. Por les pseudomes e por les buens chevaliers dont on orramentevoir les fez, Josephes nos raconte cest saint estoire por le lignage d'un buen chevalier qui fu après le crucefiement Nostre Seigneur.

Note the manner in which the sixteenth-century redactor modifies the foregoing passage:

AL honneur de la sainte trinite pere filz et saint esperit. Cy cōmēce lhystoire du tressaint vaissel que lē appelle greaal auquel le precieux sang de nostre sauueur ihesucrist fut receu le iour quil fut crucifie pour sauluer et rachepter le genre humain des peines denfer. Et affin quil en fust memoire ung nôme ioseph en fait ici mēcion aīsi cōme il luy fut reuelle par la voix de lange si comme nous trouuōs par son escript et par le tesmoignaige de plusieurs clerks 7 mesmement par la paine 7 trauail des preudhommes qui ont voulu souffrir pour exaulser la foy et la loy de Jhesucrist par renouueller sa mort et son crucifiement/ et par la volente de dieu a este trouue ce mistere tresexcellēt de ce saīt greaal lequel toutes gens qui le liront le doiuent mettre en leur entendement et fuyr 7 oublier toutes manieres de vaines parolles. Car il sera mōlt proffitable a tous ceulx qui de bon cueur le orrōt 7 principalement a tous nobles cheualiers gentilz hommes et ceulx qui suyuēt les armes si comme vous orrez cy racōpter les nobles faictz de ceulx qui le conqsterēt. Josephus nous racompte ceste sainte hystoire pour le lignage du bon cheuallier qui fut apres le crucifiement de nostre seigneur...

It is to be observed that the redactor of the early prints begins his second volume with the words: *AL honneur de la sainte trinite/ pere filz et saint esperit*, whereas the manuscripts agree

in placing the invocation to the Trinity in the second paragraph. This seems to indicate that our redactor wished to consider the doctrine of the Trinity as giving the key-note for the second volume, as it had for the first.

In the *Queste*, which is the third romance of the trilogy, the doctrine of the Trinity is less emphasized than in the *Estoire* and the *Perlesvaus*. The number of the Christian God-head is, to be sure, symbolized by the trinity of questers (Perceval, Bohort, and Galahad), but, in general, more emphasis is given in this romance to other doctrines of the Church, such as transubstantiation, the intercession of the saints, etc. The fact that the *Queste* is greatly abridged in the early prints, however, indicates that the redactor attached less importance to this romance than to the other two. It is, in fact, treated, not as a separate romance, but merely as the last branch of the second volume of the entire work. This is clearly shown by the introductory words: *Cy commēce la derraine branche du saint greaal* (fol. 211 verso), and by the colophon of the entire work, which reads: *Cy fine le derrenier volume de la queste du saint greaal faisant mention de plusieurs merueilleuses aduētures faictes et mises a fin par les cōpaignons de la table ronde et principalement de par Galaad filz de Lancelot du lac/ qui a este la derreniere branche de cestuy liure venue et yssue de la semence de Joseph darimathie, etc.* (fol. 231 recto). Indeed, our redactor might well have omitted the *Queste* entirely and thereby avoided the grave inconsistencies which unavoidably arose in the narrative from making this romance the last branch of his work, but, since the *Estoire* unquestionably points forward to the *Queste*, he no doubt felt that this romance should necessarily conclude his trilogy. It is reasonable to suppose, then, that it was the deeply religious and spiritual tone common to the *Estoire*, the *Perlesvaus*, and the *Queste* which led the redactor of the early prints to select these three romances for his book and that, because of his particular interest in the Trinity, he gave most prominence to the two romances in which this doctrine is most stressed: the *Estoire* and the *Perlesvaus*.

Several scholars of the early nineteenth century were acquainted with one or both of the early printed editions of the *Saint Greal*. W. A. Nitze has called attention⁸ to several early references to these two prints, which, for the sake of convenience, I shall here cite. In an article entitled "Commentar zu einer Stelle in Eschenbachs Parzival," discussing the passage in which Parzival falls into deep meditation upon beholding three drops of blood in the snow, the Grimm brothers call attention in the following note to a similar motif in the *Perlesvaus*: "Auch im *Roman du S. Graal* versinnt sich Gauvain über die drei Blutstropfen der heiligen Lanze, welche Sage halb hierher gehört (ed. 1521, fol. 145a)."⁹ The date of the edition is wrongly given, but the reference is obviously to the 1523 edition since the folio referred to contains the incident in question. Sir Frederick Madden, in the introduction to his *Sir Gawayne*,¹⁰ refers, in a note, to Vol. II. fol. 183 of the 1516 edition of the *Quête* as the source of the incident in which Sir Gawain plays the part of a coward in his tournament against Nabigan de la Roche. He failed to distinguish the *Perlesvaus* from the *Quête* proper, but his acquaintance with the 1516 edition is unmistakable. Paulin Paris was familiar with the 1516 edition and recognized that the second part of the work was the *Perlesvaus*. This fact was pointed out by Wechssler in 1896. In his description of the Paris manuscript of the *Perlesvaus* (B. N. fr. 1428), which had been wrongly catalogued¹¹ as the *Saint Graal*, he writes: "P. Paris hat jedoch ihren eigenartigen Inhalt bereits erkannt. Es findet sich vorn von seiner Hand, die mir durch Eintragungen in anderen Hss. als solche bekannt ist, folgende Bemerkung: 'Le roman de Perlesvaus ou Perlesval qui semble avoir été remanié pour devenir celui de Perceval le Gallois. Il a été imprimé à la suite du St Graal sous le titre *Le second volume du St Graal contenant la conquête du... St Graal faite par Lancelot Galaad Perceval Bohort*. Paris Galiot

⁸*The Old French Grail Romance Perlesvaus: A Study of its Principal Sources* (Baltimore, 1902), pp. 12-14 and p. 56.

⁹*Altdeutsche Wälder* (Cassel, 1813), I, 2.

¹⁰London, 1839, p. xix.

¹¹In the *Catalogue des manuscrits français, I, ancien fonds* (Paris, 1868), p. 224.

du Pré 1516. petit in fo.' P. Paris hat das Werk also bereits mit einem der Drucke identifiziert; das ist das wesentliche an der im übrigen nicht recht klaren Notiz."¹² Francisque Michel was acquainted with both the 1516 and the 1523 editions as early as 1841. In the preface to his edition of the metrical Joseph (*Roman du St. Graal*, Bordeaux, 1841), he states that a number of copies of the two editions were sold at good prices between the years 1784 and 1836.¹³

In addition to the foregoing early references to the two printed editions, two others may be cited. In his *History of Fiction*, John Dunlop refers to them in the following words: "At whatever time, and by whatever author it was composed, the *Sangreal* was first printed in French prose, in 1516, two volumes folio, by Gallyot du Pré, and afterwards, 1523, folio: both of these editions are so rare, that the *Sangreal* is the scarcest romance of the Round Table."¹⁴ Finally, it may be noted that Hucher in 1875-78 calls attention to both of the early prints in the introduction to his edition of *Le Saint Graal*.¹⁵

2. THE 1516 EDITION

In the copy of the 1516 edition in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the first leaf is torn out. The title-page bears at the top the full name of the work as follows:

LHYSTOIRE DU SAINCT GREAAAL QUI est le premier liure de la table ronde lequel traicte de plusieurs matieres recreatiues. Esemble la queste dudict saint greaal faicte par Lancelot/Galaad/Boors et Perceual/qui est le dernier liure de la table ronde/ lesq̃lz liures ne furent iamais imprimez iusques a present.

Immediately below the title and occupying almost half of the page, there is a woodcut of Michel Le Noir's arms, below which we find the *privilege du roi* reading as follows:

¹²E. Wechssler, "Handschriften des Perlesvaus," *ZrPh*, XX (1896), 80.

¹³This fact is mentioned by W. A. Nitze in his article "Dr. Sommer's alleged discovery of a new MS," *MLN*, XXII (1907), 27.

¹⁴John Dunlop, *History of Fiction* (3rd ed., London, 1845), p. 74.

¹⁵E. Hucher, *Le Saint Graal* (Le Mans, 1875-78), I, 14 and 24.

Auec le priuilege du roy nostre sire iusques a troys ans le quel sensuyt.

LE roy nostre sire a donne 7 ottroye lettres de grace et priuilege a Galiot du pre marchant libraire demourât a paris de faire imprimer le liure du saint greaal. Et deffend ledict seigneur a tous marchans libraires 7 aultres quelconques du royaume de France quilz ne impriment ne facent imprimer ledict liure iusques a troys ans apres ensuyuans finis et acomplis/ en cas de debat lesdictes inhibitions et deffences tenans nonobstant autres lettres subrepliees et a ce cōtraires. Donne a Paris le .xxvii. iour de Januier Mil cinq cens et quatorze. Par le roy / et syre Bucelly.

Beginning with the verso of the title-page, there are seven pages giving the table of contents of the *Estoire*. Then comes the text, which begins on the first numbered folio. Throughout the work, only the folios containing the text are numbered. The text is printed in Gothic letter with two columns to the page and forty-five lines to the column. It is divided into paragraphs, each beginning with a large, ornamented capital letter. There are frequent captions giving the subject of the paragraph or paragraphs following. In addition to several full-page woodcuts, which will be described later, there are many small woodcuts, each occupying a part of a column. The upper half of the first column of folio 1 recto is filled by a woodcut representing the Trinity, with the emblems of the evangelists in the four corners.¹⁶ Immediately below, the text of the *Estoire* begins. It continues to folio 122 recto, which is wrongly numbered 116, and ends as follows:

Cy fine le premier liure et hystoire du saint Greaal vtille et prouffitable a tous chrestiens qui desirēt scauoir et veoir plusieurs choses merueilleuses des haulx faitz dōt nostre seigneur Jhesucrist voulut douer ses vrays seruiteurs cheualiers errans pour la loy exaulcer et la foy de crestiente entretenir.

¹⁶For facsimile of this woodcut, see *Le Haut Livre du Graal Perlesvaus*, ed. by W. A. Nitze and T. A. Jenkins (University of Chicago Press, 1932), I, 12.

Folio 122 verso has a full-page woodcut of a group of nine men, one of whom with crown and sceptre is sitting at the left with the others sitting or standing in front of him and behind him. The next page, which is not numbered, bears nothing but the title of the second volume as follows:

LE SECOND VOLUME DU SAINCT GREAAAL contenant
la conquete dudict saint Greaal/faicte par Lancelot du
lac/ Galaad Perceual et boors.

The verso of the title-page is blank. Five unnumbered pages giving the table of contents of the second volume now follow, after which there is a full-page woodcut which evidently represents the author kneeling and presenting his book to a king on a throne with courtiers on both sides and a dog in the foreground.¹⁷ On the recto of the next folio (numbered 123) the text of the *Perlesvaus* begins in the following manner:

Cy commence le second volume du saint greaal qui faict
mention de la conquete dudict saint greaal faicte par
lancelot du lac par galaad son filz perceual et boort.

Al honneur de la sainte trinite pere filz et saint esperit.
Cy cômēce lhystoire du tressaint vaissel que lē appelle
greaal auquel le precieux sang de nostre sauueur ihesu-
crist fut receu le iour quil fut crucifie pour sauluer et
rachepter le genre humain des peines denfer.

The text of the *Perlesvaus* continues to the middle of the first column of folio 211 verso (wrongly numbered 212) and ends with the words: "Ceulx de la terre les appellerent saintz hommes." The *Perlesvaus* is followed without any break by a brief account of the conception and birth of Galahad. This account, which introduces the second "last branch" of the book, begins as follows:

Cy commēce la derraine branche du saint greaal.
Comment Lancelot du lac veid le saint greaal et en fut

¹⁷For facsimile of this woodcut, see Nitze and Jenkins, *op. cit.*, I, 23.

repeu. Et comment il fut receu par Brisanne qui luy fist entendre que la royne geneure estoit ou chasteau qui vouloit parler a luy. Et comment brisanne fist coucher Lancelot avec la fille du roy perles ou il engendra Galaad le quel acheua la queste du saïct greaal avecques boort et perceual.

The account of the conception and birth of Galahad continues to the first column of folio 213 recto, and is immediately followed by a condensed version of the *Queste*, which begins as follows:

Comment Galaad filz de lancelot/ le quel il engendra en la fille du roy Perles quant il fut en aage fut faict cheuallier de la main de son pere lancelot.

The *Queste* continues to folio 231 recto and ends with the following colophon:

Cy fine le derrenier volume de la queste du saint greaal faisant mention de plusieurs merueilleuses aduētues faictes et mises a fin par les cōpaignons de la table ronde et principalement de par Galaad filz de Lancelot du lac/ qui a este la derreniere branche de cestuy liure venue et yssue de la semence de Joseph darimathie. Nouuellement imprime a Paris. Par Jehan petit Galliot du pre et Michel le noir Libraires demourans a Paris. Le .xxv. iour de Septembre Mil cinq cens et seize.

It is to be noted that the *privilège* quoted above is dated January 27, 1514. This dating is unquestionably according to the old style. It is often difficult to determine whether dates before Easter found in early sixteenth-century books are given in accordance with the new or the old style since printers and publishers began using the new method of beginning the year with January 1 shortly after 1500, rarely at first but with greater frequency as time went on.¹⁸ Since the new method of dating did not go into legal force until January 1, 1565, however, and since the *privilège* is a legal document executed by the king or his agent, it is cer-

¹⁸Cf. A. Tilley, *Studies in the French Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 195.

tain that the date of our *privilège* is given according to the old style and corresponds to January 27, 1515, of our calendar. In this event, approximately twenty months elapsed between the issuing of the *privilège* and the completion of the printing, which was September 25, 1516, according to the colophon.

It is to be noted, furthermore, that the *privilège* for the printing of the 1516 edition was granted to Galiot Du Pré, while the colophon states that it was printed by Galiot Du Pré, Jehan Petit, and Michel Le Noir. These statements require some explanation, involving as they do certain usages and practices among sixteenth-century printers and publishers. It will clarify matters to state at once that Galiot Du Pré was not himself a printer, but a publisher and bookseller. Our *privilège* refers to him as a *marchant libraire*. Renouard lists him¹⁹ as a *libraire juré*, that is, one of the twenty-four booksellers of Paris that were officers of the University, sworn before its rector and directly subject to its jurisdiction. Galiot Du Pré was not appointed to this position, however, until shortly before February 16, 1521 (N. S.), the date of his publication of *La tres illustre vie . . . des douze Cesars* (Suetonius), the first of his editions in which he is referred to by this title.²⁰ In his *Studies in the French Renaissance*, Arthur Tilley has an interesting chapter entitled "A Paris Bookseller—Galliot Du Pré"²¹ in which he gives an illuminating account of the activities of this enterprising publisher, whose career, extending from 1512 to 1560, covers one of the most interesting periods in the history of French literature. A study of the one hundred and ninety titles of Galiot Du Pré's publications listed by Tilley reveals the fact that, except for a predilection for history, he was not a specialist. Unlike the Estiennes, whose publications were chiefly for scholars, and Jean Trepperel, who catered to the lowest class of readers, Galiot Du Pré had as his clientèle the nobles and the better educated bourgeois. The enterprise and judgment of Galiot Du Pré, the breadth of his

¹⁹Ph. Renouard, *Imprimeurs parisiens . . . depuis . . . 1470 jusqu'à la fin du XVI siècle* (Paris, 1898), p. 113.

²⁰Cf. Tilley, *op. cit.*, p. 178 and p. 196.

²¹Chap. VII, pp. 168-218.

interests, and his importance among sixteenth-century French publishers will be revealed by the following well-known titles chosen from the list of his publications as given by Tilley:²² Commines' *Cronique et histoire* (first edition in 1524, followed by several later editions), *La tres joyeuse plaisante et recreative Hystoire . . . des faitz gestes triumphes et prouesses du bon chevalier sans paour et sans reproche le gentil seigneur de Bayart* by Le loyal Serviteur (1527, perhaps the first edition; at any rate, the oldest in existence), Marot's editions of the *Roman de la Rose* (1526) and of Villon (1533), Jean Meschinot's *Les lunettes des princes* (1528), Alain Chartier's *Les faicts et dictz* (1526), Tiraqueau's *De legibus connubialibus* (1524), Martin Le Franc's *Le Champion des Dames* (1530), *Pathelin* (1532), Jean Lemaire's *Illustrations de Gaule* (1531), a translation of the works of Virgil (1529), a translation of Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae* (1521), a translation of the *Celestina* (1527), an epitome in French of Budé's *De Asse* (1523). Galiot Du Pré's favor with the king is attested by the fact that several royal ordinances were entrusted to him for publication. The most important of these, which he published in conjunction with two other booksellers, was the famous decree of Villers-Cotterets entitled *Ordonnances royaulx sur le fait de la justice et abbreviation des proces* (1539).

Galiot Du Pré published seven romances of chivalry: *Le Saint Greaal* (1516), *Isaie le triste* (1523), *Mabrian* (1526), *Perceforest* (1528), *La Conqueste de Grece* (1528), *Meliadus de Leonnoys* (1528) and *Perceval le Gallois* (1530). It is noteworthy that these seven romances all appeared from 1516 to 1530. Galiot Du Pré always showed excellent business judgment in adapting his publications to changes in public taste, and this is true particularly in the case of the romances of chivalry. Of the twenty-seven romances known to have been printed during the reign of Francis I, twenty-five appeared from 1515 to 1536, while during the last eleven years of his reign only two were added to those already in print. This change in taste on the part

²²*Op. cit.*, pp. 204-218

of the reading public was due not only to the new ideas introduced by the Renaissance but also to the popularity of the Spanish *Amadis de Gaula*, the first book of which was translated into French in 1540.²³

Several of Galiot Du Pré's publications, especially the longer ones, were published by him in conjunction with other booksellers. For example, the first book in which his name appears, Johannes Surgetus' *Militaris disciplinae Enchiridion* (1512), bears on its title-page only the mark and the address of Jean Petit, but the colophon states that Galiot Du Pré was associated with him and that the book was on sale at the Golden Lily (the sign of Jean Petit) and "at the second pillar of the hall of the Palace, at the shop of the said Galiot Du Pré."²⁴ In the case of *Le Saint Greaal*, Galiot Du Pré's name alone appears in the *privilege*, but the colophon states that it was printed by Galiot Du Pré, Jehan Petit, and Michel Le Noir. This means that Galiot Du Pré was chiefly responsible for the work but the other two booksellers shared with him the expenses of publication and the marketing of the book. Jehan Petit, like Galiot Du Pré, was a publisher only and not a printer. Renouard lists him²⁵ as one of the four *grands libraires jurés de l'Université* whose career extended from 1492 to about 1530. He was a man of considerable importance in his profession, as his title indicates, the duty of the *grands libraires jurés* being to fix the price of books and to supervise the activities of their fellow booksellers.²⁶ Michel Le Noir, however, was both a printer and a publisher. Renouard classifies him²⁷ as a *libraire imprimeur* whose activity covered the period from 1489 to 1520. Michel Le Noir was unquestionably the printer of the 1516 edition of *Le Saint Greaal*. His printer's mark appears on the title-page between the title and the *privilege* and takes up fully half of the page. It is in the shape of a shield surrounded by flowered ornaments and surmounted by a

²³Cf. Tilley, *op. cit.*, p. 15 and p. 18.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 173 and p. 190.

²⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 292.

²⁶Cf. Tilley, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

²⁷*Op. cit.*, p. 233.

crown and the head of a negro, to the left of which we read the name *M. Le Noir*. The whole is surrounded by a frame on the four borders of which is written his motto:

Cest mon desir
De Diev servir
Pour acqverir
Son dovlx plaisir.

It is extremely probable, if not certain, that Galiot Du Pré himself had nothing to do with the textual work of his edition of *Le Saint Greaal*. From a comparison of the style of several of Galiot Du Pré's prefaces, Tilley concludes²⁸ that even these were probably not written by him. Publishing as he did about one hundred and ninety works, some of them very long, he probably attended only to the selection of his titles and to the commercial side of his enterprises, entrusting all other duties to people in his employ. It would be interesting to know more details about this phase of sixteenth-century publication if they could be ascertained. Whoever the redactor of the 1516 edition of *Le Saint Greaal* may have been, he is nowhere mentioned by name.

3. THE TEXTUAL RELATION BETWEEN THE 1516 AND THE 1523 EDITIONS

A comparison of the text of the 1516 Black Letter edition of the *Perlesvaus* (*BL*) with that of the 1523 edition (*BL'*) reveals the fact that the latter is a direct, almost word for word, reproduction of the former. The most important changes made by the redactor of *BL'* are occasional alterations in the spelling of words, which is not remarkable when we consider the instability of sixteenth-century orthography. *BL* and *BL'* usually correspond exactly line for line. In all cases, corresponding folios contain exactly the same amount of material, the first and last words

²⁸*Op. cit.*, pp. 178-179.

of each folio of *BL* always being identical with the first and last words of the corresponding folio of *BL'*. No attempt was made by the redactor of *BL'* to correct the numerous faulty readings of his source by referring to a manuscript of the *Perlesvaus*. This will be clear from the following typical examples of faulty reading in *BL* that were slavishly copied by *BL'*:

- a) *Moult doibt estre dollent qui vient dhonneur et honte* (126,a,38-39). The manuscripts read: *a honte*.
- b) *A la dextre partie des troys sercueilz auoit troys parties au mur de la chappelle* (136,a,41-42). The manuscripts read *pertuis* instead of *parties*..
- c) *Lors ilz sarrestēt pour le voir passer car ilz auoient veu comme ilz auoyent veu comme il bailla son glaue et son escu a la damoyselle . . .* (173,b,3-6). This is a non-sensical rendering of a passage making good sense in the manuscripts. MS O reads: *Il arestent por veoir le Buen Chevalier passer, qui baillé a son escu et son glaive a la damoisele*. (Nitze-Jenkins ed. ll. 5740-42).
- d) Though the hero's name is regularly spelled *Perleuaulx* in the early prints (very rarely *Parleuaulx*, *Perleuaux*), there is one instance of its being spelled *Parceuaulx*. This spelling occurs in identically the same place in the two editions (136,b,15).

Not only does *BL'* slavishly follow the faulty readings of *BL*, but it also duplicates the faulty folio numbering of its original. In that portion of *BL* containing the *Perlesvaus* (folios 123 recto to 211 verso), there are seven cases of wrongly numbered folios: 128 for 125, 181 for 180, 163 for 186, 201 for 205, 201 for 206, 209 for 210, and 212 for 211. In *BL'* five of these faulty numberings are copied, only two being rectified (Nos. 186 and 210).

Much additional evidence could be given since nearly every folio offers one or more convincing examples. It will be sufficiently clear from the preceding cases, however, that the redactor of the 1523 edition used no other source than the 1516 edition.

4. THE 1523 EDITION

Since the texts of the 1516 and the 1523 editions are almost identical, it will not be necessary to give a detailed description of the latter. Here, as in the earlier edition, the text is printed in Gothic letter with two columns to the page and forty-five lines to the column, and only the folios containing the text are numbered. The division into paragraphs is identical, and the paragraph captions are the same. The woodcuts are different, but since they occupy the same amount of space, corresponding folios of the two editions contain exactly the same amount of text. The only differences worth mentioning occur on the title-page and in the colophon.

The full title of the 1523 edition reads as follows:

CEST LHYSTOIRE DU SAINCT GREAAI. QUI est le premier liure de la Table ronde. Lequel traite de plusieurs matieres recreatiues. Ensemble la queste dudict saint Greai. Faicte par Lancelot/Galaad/Boors/et Perceual Qui est le dernier liure de la table ronde/ Nouuellement imprime a Paris.

A little below the title we read:

On les vend a Paris par Philippe le Noir Libraire/ 7 Relieur iure en luniuersite de Paris Demourant en la rue saint Jacques a lenseigne de la roze blanche couronnee.

The above title and the accompanying notice are placed in a rectangular space occupying the center of the title-page. This space is surrounded by a finely executed woodcut border of grotesque design, the whole being surmounted by a *pièce d'encadrement* in the shape of a half-rose bearing the monogram *P Le N*. The device of this *pièce d'encadrement* corresponds exactly to that given by Renouard²⁹ as the usual printer's mark of Philippe Le Noir.

²⁹*Les Marques typographiques parisiennes des XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris, 1926), Plate 625.

The 1523 edition of *Le Saint Greaal* bears no privilège since it is not a first edition. The colophon reads as follows:

Cy fine le derrenier volume de la queste du saint greaal
faisant mention de plusieurs merueilleuses aduētures
faictes et mises a fin par les cōpaignons de la table ronde
et principalement de par Galaad filz de Lancelot du lac/
qui a este la derreniere branche de cestuy liure venue et
yssue de la semence de Joseph darimathie. Nouuellement
imprime a Paris. Par Phelippe le noir libraire et relieur
iure en Luniuersite de Paris demourāt en la grant rue
saint Jacques a lenseigne de la Rose blanche couronnee.
Et fut acheue le .xxiiil. iour Doctobre Mil cinq cens vingt
et troys.

It is to be noted that only one man, Philippe Le Noir, is mentioned on the title-page and in the colophon as being connected with the publication and printing of the 1523 edition. According to Renouard³⁰, Philippe Le Noir was a *libraire imprimeur* and one of the two *grands relieurs jurés de l'Université* whose activities covered the period from 1520 to 1541. He was the son of Michel Le Noir, the printer of the 1516 edition, and he carried on his business at the same address as his father: "En la grant rue Saint Jacques à l'enseigne de la Rose blanche couronnée."

³⁰*Imprimeurs parisiens . . . depuis . . . 1470 jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1898), p. 234.

CHAPTER II

RELATIONSHIP OF THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EDITIONS OF THE *PERLESVAUS* TO THE EXTANT MANUSCRIPTS

The following pages set forth the results of a detailed collation of the Black Letter editions of the *Perlesvaus* with all the known manuscripts.¹ The aim of the present chapter is to determine the relationship of the early prints to the extant manuscripts.

1. THE MANUSCRIPTS

The *Perlesvaus* is extant in seven manuscripts, of which three are complete or nearly so, and four are fragments. There is also an early Welsh translation which must be taken into account. Since these manuscripts have been described in full elsewhere,² I shall merely list them and make such summary statements about each as are necessary for my purpose.

Hatton 82 (O), which is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, is a thirteenth-century manuscript copied by eight scribes. Besides being practically complete, it is, in general, quite trustworthy in its readings. This manuscript has been used as the basis of the recent edition of the *Perlesvaus* by W. A. Nitze and T. A. Jenkins.³

—*Brussels 11145* (Br), which was edited by Charles Potvin⁴ in 1866

¹Such a collation had not previously been made. H. O. Sommer stated in 1906 (*MLN*, XXI, 226, n. 3) that he had collated the early prints with Potvin's text of *Perceval le Gallois*, and announced his intention of doing the same with the Paris manuscript. His results, however, were never published.

²See E. Wechssler, "Handschriften des *Perlesvaus*," *ZrPh*, XX (1896), 80-82; and W. A. Nitze, *The Old French Grail Romance Perlesvaus: A Study of its Principal Sources* (Baltimore, 1902), pp. 3-19. For the fullest description, see now *Le Haut Livre du Graal Perlesvaus*, ed. by W. A. Nitze and T. A. Jenkins (University of Chicago Press, 1932), I, 3-12.

³*Le Haut Livre du Graal Perlesvaus* (Univ. of Chicago Press), 1932, Vol. I.

⁴*Perceval le Gallois ou le Conte du Graal, Première Partie: Le Roman en Prose*, Mons, 1866.

dates from the second half of the thirteenth century. Though it is nearly complete, it is far less reliable than O. It has a long omission in the "three days tournament" episode (corresponding to O, 57,c,11 beginning with *conmença* to 58,a,36 through *renc*; Nitze-Jenkins ed., ll. 6821-88). Since this lacuna occurs in the middle of a folio (76,a,38), it must have been caused by a missing folio in the manuscript from which *Br* was copied. This is the only manuscript having at the end the dedication by the Seingnor de Cambrein to the Seingnor de Neele and the statement that a romance is to follow, treating the adventures of Brians des Isles.

Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 1428 (P) is a carefully written manuscript dating also from the thirteenth century. The first gathering of eight folios is missing, as is also the last gathering of eight folios. The text begins with *uient socorre* (O,5,b,16; N-J ed., 1. 511) and ends with *en la diver* (O,86,a,21; N-J ed., 1. 9942). There are only two further gaps of any length in the text, each due to the loss of one folio from the manuscript. The first occurs between folios 46 and 47 (corresponding to O,29,a,12, beginning *et li prient* through *li feus* in 29,c,10; N-J ed., ll. 3470-3532); the second occurs between folios 50 and 51 (corresponding to O, 31,c,c1, beginning *en covent* through *il l'a* in 31,d,42; N-J ed., ll. 3774-3835).

Chantilly MS 626 (C) contains only the first half of the *Perlesvaus*, corresponding to O from the beginning through the words *dusqua vne quinsaine* (O,43,a,33; N-J ed., 1. 5195). This manuscript, which was made by a careless copyist, dates also from the thirteenth century.

Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 120 and *Arsenal MS 3480 (OAc)*⁵ are grouped together because the second is a direct copy of the first. The former is a fourteenth-century manuscript, and the latter dates from the fifteenth century. These manuscripts, contain only the major part of the first branch and a few lines of the second branch of the *Perlesvaus*. The beginning of the *Per-*

⁵These manuscripts are given this lettering because A. Pauphilet in his *Etudes sur la Queste del Saint Graal* (1921), p. vii and p. ix, gives the lettering O to BN. fr. 120 and Ac to the Arsenal MS.

lesvaus is here adapted to form an introduction to the Vulgate *Queste*. *OAc* runs parallel to *O* as far as the words *Sire, fet ele, il fu filz Julain le Gros des Vax de Kamaalot, e est apelez Pellesvax* (*O*,4,d,37-39; *N-J* ed., ll. 457-458). This sentence is made to read as follows: *il est nepveu du roy pelle filz de la fille du roy peschour*. *OAc* then omits that portion of Branch I telling of *Perlesvaus*' childhood, and, beginning again with the words *Sire or vous ay je dit* (*O*,5,b,21; *N-J* ed., l. 515), it leaves the *Perlesvaus* with a *moult grant exploit* (sic) (*O*,5,d,32; *N-J* ed., l. 581).

Berne 113 (Be) is fragmentary. It runs parallel to *O* through *tantost* (*O*,9,c,16; *N-J* ed., l. 1057). It begins again with *por lui* (*O*,50,d,35; *N-J* ed., l. 6111) and ends with *cōmanda al chapelain* (*O*,53,a,30; *N-J* ed., l. 6341).

Peniarth 11 (W), which is in the National Library of Wales, at Aberystwyth, contains a Welsh translation of the *Queste* and of the *Perlesvaus*. It dates from the latter part of the fourteenth century. It was published in 1876 together with an English translation by the Rev. Robert Williams.⁶ The Welsh translation is characterized by frequent omissions and great condensation, though it follows well the main trend of the story.

2. GROUPING OF MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY EDITIONS BY FAMILIES

The manuscripts and early printed editions of the *Perlesvaus* fall clearly into two groups, which may be designated as *X* and *X'*. To the former belong *O C OAc W BL*; to the latter, *P Br Be*. This classification is based chiefly on additions and omissions common to the manuscripts of each group and on agreements in readings occurring with such great frequency as to point to a definite filiation.

a. *Additions and Omissions*. The most striking characteristic of *X'* is the inclusion in the text of words, phrases, sentences,

⁶*Y Seint Greal* (Vol. I of *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS*), ed. by the Rev. Robert Williams, London, 1876. For a review of this edition, see *G. Paris, Romania*, XXII (1893), 297.

and even whole paragraphs that are not found in *X*. These inclusions are sufficiently numerous and convincing to establish without question the grouping *P Br Be* as against *O C OAc BL W*. I made a count of the additions in the manuscripts of *X'* in that portion of the text covered by the Berne fragments, about one-seventh of the complete text. As additions I counted paragraphs, sentences, and significant words and phrases. I did not count commonplace words and phrases which might have been added by scribes independently. In that portion of the text examined for this purpose, I found in Group *X'* ninety-five additions which occurred in no manuscript of Group *X*. It is obviously impossible to cite all these additions, but following examples will show their general nature. The additions are indicated by italics.

Example 1

O) Par mon chief, fait Lanceloz, je m'en irai avec vos, car je voil metre en autel abandon mon cors por vos comme il fist le sien por moi. Atant s'en vont. . .

(2666-69)

C) agrees substantially with O.

BL) Par ma foy fait lancelet ie men yray avecques vous 7 mettray mon corps en aduanture pour vous comme vostre frere fist pour le mien. Atant sen vont . . .

(147,b,2-6)

W) By my faith, says Lancelot, I will go with thee whichever way thou pleasest, and will give my body with thee to danger, if it will be needful for thee, as boldly as he also gave for thee. Then they rode together . . .

⁷In my quotations from *O*, I have followed the punctuated, accented version of this manuscript as given in the text of the recent edition of the *Perlesvaus* by W. A. Nitze and T. A. Jenkins [*Le Haut Livre du Graal Perlesvaus* (University of Chicago Press, 1932), Vol. I], except in a few cases in which it is desirable to know what the diplomatic reading is. The line references are to the text of this edition. In my citations from the other manuscripts, I have merely solved the abbreviations. In my quotations from *BL*, I have striven to give as close a diplomatic reproduction of the early prints as our modern typographical signs permit. The citations from *W* are from the English translation of the Rev. Robert Williams.

P) par mon chief fait .lan. io men irai auoecques uos
si uos geredonerai cho quil fist por moi Il liura son cors
a la mort por moi En auteil abandon uolrai iou
metre le mien por uostre amor et por la soie Sire fait
li ch'rs io uos saj molt bon gre de cho que uos dites
se li fais est autreter Oil si mait dex fait .lan. se diex
men preste pooir. Atant sen vont . . .

Br) in substantial agreement with P.

Example 2

O) Il ot en la chapele la voiz d'une dame, qui parloit si
 docement e si haut, qu'il n'est hom tant iriez, s'il oist
 la voiz de la dame, qui n'eüst joie.

(238-240)

C and OAc in substantial agreement with O.

BL) il ouyt en la chappelle une voix dune dame qui parloit
 si doucement et si cordialement quil nest cueur au
 monde qui neust eu ioye de auoir ouy celle voiz.

(125a,41-44)

W) . . . There was not in the whole world a man, however
 sorrowful, or how great his loss of goods, that would
 not be joyful.

Be) . . . hom terriens el monde tant eust grant duel ne grant
pesance se il oist la dame et la doce voiz de sa raison
quil ne refust en joie.

Br omits *la dame et*; otherwise in substantial agreement
 with Be.

P still lacking.

Example 3

O) Ses destriers li fu amenez au perron, e il monta toz
 armez. Messire Yvains li Avotres li bailla son escu e

son glaive. Qant li rois fu toz apareilliez, bien sanbla estre, au corsage de lui, chevaliers de grant pooir e de noble hardement.

(190-193)

C and OAc in substantial agreement with O.

BL) A tant son destrier luy fut admene au perron ou il monta dessus tout arme 7 messire yuāi lauoltre luy bailla son escu 7 son glaive. Quant le roy fut prest et apareille de tout ce qui luy failloit il sembla bien a le voir a son estat et maintien quil estoit cheualier preux et bien hardy 7 de grant pouoir.

(124,d,7-13)

W) And then his horse was brought for him to the mounting stone, and he then mounted on it. And when he was a horseback, every one would have thought that he was powerful of body, and noble his bearing.

Be) Ses destriers li fu amenes al perron. Li rois j monta tos armes. *Li rois ot chainte sespee.* Messire Ywains li bailla son escu et son glaive. *Quant li rois ot pendu lescu al col. et il tint le glaive en sa main. sor le grant destrier tos armes.* Bien senbla estre al corsage *et a la contenance* ch'rs de grant pooir. et de noble hardement.

Br) adds *messire .Y. ot ceinte cespee* after *sespee*, and *li auoltres* after *messire Ywains*; otherwise substantially in agreement with Be.

P still lacking.

Example 4

O) Adonc furent il en esmai, e sorent bien que c'estoit cil qui fu premierement au Graal. Les noveles vinrent au seignor. Il dist a ses chevaliers qu'il ne s'esfreasent mie, qu'il n'aroit ja pooir contre aus. Perlesvaus fu armez amont desor son ceval. Li hermite le saignent e commandent a Deu. Il tint son glaive empoignié e

vint vers les .iii. chevaliers qui gardoient le premier pont. Il s'eslaises vers lui. Il en fiert .i. de si tres grant air qu'il le fait chaoir en l'aigue qui cort desoz le pont.

(6129-37)

BL) . . . ilz furent en grant esmoy/ si scauent bien que cest Perleuaulx qui vient pour conquerre le saint greaal et quil nauront duree contre luy si le vont nuncer au roy et le roy leur dit quil ne si effrayent mye et quil naura pas pouoir contre tât de cheualliers qui les portes gardent Perleuaulx monte a cheual et les hermites luy dōnent leur benediction 7 le recommandent a dieu il prent son glayue en sō poig 7 sē viēt cōtre les troys cheualliers qui gardoyent le premier pont/ 7 eulx vers luy si fiert le premier par si grant roideur qui (*sic*) le fist tomber en leaue qui couroit soubz le pont.

(176,d,39-177,a,6)

W) And the knights that were guarding the bridges knew that the shrine had opened; and then they recognized that he was the knight, to whom the Greal would appear, and that they said to their Lord. And he also said, and bade them not to be at all frightened. And then Paredur mounted armed on his horse, and the hermits prayed God to succour him. And he also took his spear in his hand, and came towards the knights, who were keeping the first bridge; and the knights encountered him; and he also attacked the first, that met with him, and struck him, so that he was over the crupper of his horse over the bridge in the middle of the water.

C lacking.

Be) Adonques furent il en *grant* esmai et sorent bien que cestoit cil qui premerainement fu al graal. Les noueles en uindrent *al roi qui le chastel tenoit*. Si dist a ses cheualiers quil ne seffreiassent mie *por un seul cheualier*. Car il nauroit ia *force ne pooir* encontre els. *Ne onques*

navint que uns sols cheualiers en poist tant conquerre. Perceuaus fu armes desor son cheual et li hermite le saignent et beneissent et commandent a dieu. Il tint son glaive empoignie et uient uers les .iii. cheualiers qui le premier pont gardoient. Il seslaissent sor lui tot a un fais et brisent lor glaives sor son escu. Il en fiert un de si tres grant air quil le fait chaoir en la riuiere qui coroit desous le pont et lui et son cheual. de celui fu il pes. Car la riuiere estoit grans et parfonde et roide.

P and *Br* in substantial agreement with *Be*.

The foregoing are only a few of the many cases in which we find passages in *X'* that are not found in *X*. Two explanations are possible: (1) these passages were in the original text but were omitted by the common ancestor of Group *X*; (2) the manuscripts of Group *X* have the original reading and these passages were added by the common source of Group *X'*. Since both versions make sense in every case, it is difficult to determine with certainty which has maintained the original reading. The evidence, however, is mostly in favor of Group *X*. If we compare the two versions in those passages in which additional matter is found in *X'*, we cannot fail to observe the stylistic economy of the *X* version as compared with *X'*. The concision and economy of expression characterizing manuscript *O*, which best represents the *X* redaction, make it appear probable that this manuscript stands closer to the original text than does any manuscript of Group *X'*. There is, however, a stronger argument in support of our conclusion that *X'* represents a second redaction of the romance. One statement in the colophon found in *Br* reads in part as follows: "Por le seingnor de neele fist li seingnor de cambrein cest liure escrire q' onques mes ne fu troitz que une seule foiz avec cestui en roumenz et cil qui auant cestui fust fez e[s]t si anteus qu'a grant poine an peust lan choisir la lestre . . ." This statement indicates that the redactor of *Br* or of *Br*'s source is

conscious of making a second redaction.⁸ *P* and *Be* are defective at the end, and consequently we do not know whether they had this colophon or not, but since they agree in general with *Br* as against *X*, we can only conclude that they also belong to the second redaction. Hence, the colophon may well have been written for the common source of *X'*.

b. *Agreements in Readings*. The grouping *X* vs. *X'* is borne out, further, by frequent agreements in readings within one group as against the other. Here, too, it would be impossible to cite all the cases pointing to this separation between the two groups, but the following are typical examples. In the manuscript quotations of the remainder of this chapter, the citations from *O* will be given fully enough to convey the context of the entire passage, and the quotations from the other manuscripts will be given more briefly. The italicized words indicate the agreements and differences.

Example 1

O(*C*) Siré chevaliers, fet l'ainznee, vos n'avez garde de l'autre chevalier *tant com cil soit vis*.

(1862-63)

BL) Sire fait laisnee vous nauez garde de lautre *tant que cestuy viue*.

(139,d,22-23)

W) . . . *while that one was alive*.

P(*Br*) . . . *tresqua cel eure que cis iert ochis*.

Example 2

O) J'é veü *a tel jor com hui est* que vos aviez si grant plenté de chevaliers en vostre cort que a paines lé poist on nonbrer.

(84-86)

C) jai ueut *a tel ior comme hui est* que vos auies . . .

⁸Cf. Nitze and Jenkins, *op. cit.*, I, 14; and W. A. Nitze, *Mod. Phil.*, XVII (1920), 605-18.

- OAc) car ie veu en vostre court *a tel iour quil est huy* si grant plante . . .
- BL) iay veu *a tel iour comme cestuy* que vous auiez en vostre court si grant plante de cheualiers . . .
(123,d,19-21)
- W) I have seen, says she, *on such a day as this*, so numerous knights along with thee . . .
- Be(Br) jai ueu *en ce jor v en atres iors semblans a cesti de hautece* que . . .
- P still lacking.

Example 3

- O(C) Après en prist ce que Dex volt (C: len uaut donner), et le mist enorablement *en sun sein*.
(5135-36)
- BL) puis prêt le drap 7 le ploye 7 met *en son sain* le plus honnorablement q̃lle peut.
(167,c,24-26)
- _W) And she took it, and put it *in her bosom*.
- P(Br) . . . le mist molt honorablement *pres de soj*.

Example 4

- O(C) Il chevauche tant q'il vient en une lande qui molt estoit large et grant et bele, si voit un arbre foillu *et vert, et estoit larges environ, car [a] grant plenté i avoit branches*.
(2942-45)
- BL) . . . et voit ung Arbre ou meillieu moult umbrageux vert 7 fueilleu 7 *moult large estoit a cause des branches quil portoit*.
(149,d,29-32)

W) . . . and in the middle of the glade he perceived a large leafy tree, and of *great compass on the ground, so numerous were the branches.*

P(Br) read for the italicized words in O: *qui estoit al chief de la lande.*

In the preceding examples we have cases in which the manuscripts of *X* agree against those of *X'* but in which both versions make sense. Such evidence is not in itself sufficient to serve as a basis for a classification since the concordances within either group may be due to the fact that all of its members have kept the reading of the original. If, however, we find the manuscripts of one group agreeing in readings which clearly could not have been in the original text, we must conclude that these manuscripts descend from some common ancestor in which these readings occurred and hence must constitute a family. The evidence presented in the preceding section (pp. 23-29) justifies us in grouping *PBrBe* together. It remains only to determine whether the remaining manuscripts form one group or more than one. The following cases of agreement in common error prove clearly that *O BL W C* constitute one family.

Case 1

O) Atant es vos les .ii. damoiseles qui revienent par devant la table, et senble a Monsaignor Gavain q'il en i ait trois; et esgarde contremont et li senble que li Graax soit tot en l'air. Et voit, ce li est avis, par deseure *un home* cloufichié en une croiz, et li estoit le glaive fichié eu costé. Messire Gavains le voit, si en a grant pitié, et ne li sovient d'autre chose fors de la dolor que li rois sofre.

(2446-51)

C) . . . *i. home* crucefie

BL) . . . *ung homme* crucifie

(145,b,15-16)

W) . . . and on top of it was a great cross with *a man* on it.

Br(P) . . . *i. roi couronne* clofichie an une croiz.

In this case the correctness of the reading of *PBr* is attested by the sentence immediately following in all the manuscripts: "Messire Gavains le voit, si en a grant pitié, et ne li sovient d'autre chose fors de la dolor que *li rois* sofre." In this sentence *li rois* must refer to the man on the cross, but since this is not clear from the *X* version of the passage, we must conclude that Group *X* is in error.

Case 2

- O) Atant es vos .ii. damoiseles qui issent d'une chapele, et tient l'une en ses .ii. mains le saintisme Graal, et l'autre la lance de quoi la pointe saigne dedenz, et vet l'une dejoste l'autre. Et viennent en la sale la ou li chevalier et Messire Gavains mengoient. Si douce oudor et si saintisme en vient q'il en oblient le mengier. Misire Gavains esgarda le Graal, et li senble q'il voie *une chandoile* dedenz, donc il n'ert gaires a icel tens, et voit la pointe de la lance donc li sans vermauz chiét, et li senble qu'il voit .ii. angres qui portent .ii. chandelabres d'or espris de chandoiles.

(2424-32)

- C) . . . et li sanble quil voie *une chandoile* dedens. . .

- BL) . . . et luy sembloit quil veoit *une chandelle ardante* dedans. . .

(145,a,22-23)

- W abridges as follows: "And then Gwalchmei looked at the Greal, and at the spear; and it appeared to him that two angels, with torches of wax burning, were with them."

- P(*Br*) . . . et si samble quil uoit (*Br*: auoit) *i. calice* dedens. . .

In this case also, the *PBr* reading is unquestionably the right one. The *X* reading cannot be correct because of the immediately following words: *donc il n'ert gaires a icel tens*. Certainly candles were quite common at that time. In fact, they are mentioned in the text immediately before this passage (1. 2423) and immediately after it (1. 2432). The chalice, on the other hand, was quite unusual, as is attested by the account of the chalice and the bell later in the romance (11. 7220-52), in which we find the statement (11. 7221-22): "L'estoire nos tesmoigne qu'en cel tans n'avoit en la terre lo roi Artu nul galice."

Case 3

- O) Atant s'asient au mengier, si aportent les més chevaliers qui estoient en fers, et *avoient les mains trenchiees*. Li secont aportent chevaliers en fers qui avoient [les] ieuz crevez, si les amenoient vallet. Li tierz més apporterent chevaliers en fers qui n'avoient que une main. Apr[é]ls revindrent autres chevaliers qui n'avoient chascun que un pié, et apporterent le quart més. Au quint més vindrent chevalier molt cointe et molt bel, et apporterent chascuns une espee tote nue en sa main, et presenterent leur chiés a leur dame. Et Lanceloz esgarde la maniere de ces chevaliers, si li desplest molt le servise de tel gent.

(2766-75)

- BL) Atant fut le soupper prest et se assirent a table. Les cheualiers qui enferrez estoient leans par les piez apporterēt les premiers metz et les posent sur la table. Ceulx qui *auoyent les mains coupees* apporterent les secondz metz etc.

(148,a.30-36)

- C) Atant sasisent au manger et saportent les mes ch'r qui *auoient les mains trencies*. Et le secont mes aportent ch'r qui auoient les loïs creues. . .

- W) And along with the first course there came knights, *whose hands had been cut off*, and with gyves upon them. And after the second course came knights, whose eyes had been drawn from their heads etc.

- P(Br) Atant sasisent al mangier et apporterent le premier mes ch'r qui estoient en fers et *auoient les neis trenchies* et le scund (*sic*) apporterent ch'r en fers qui auoient les ex creues etc.

In this account of the banquet in the Castle of the Beards, the manuscripts of *X* agree in stating that the first course was served by knights whose hands had been cut off. This could not have been the reading of the original—it would have imposed too much on the credulity even of thirteenth-century readers. The reading of *PBr*, which is quite acceptable in sense, is doubtless the correct one. In a later episode of the romance, the Lady of the Castle of the Beards informs Lancelot of the cruelties she

had been accustomed to perpetrate on the knights coming to her castle. These are her words (ll. 6447-50): "La cruauté estoit molt grant que je lor faisoie, car on ne m'amenast ja chevalier que je ne feïse *le nés tremchier* o les eus crever, e de tels i avoit, si com vos veïstes, qui les piez avoient trenchié o les poinz." Note that in this passage four different kinds of mutilation are mentioned and that they correspond exactly to those of the *X'* version of the banquet. In the *X* version, only three are paralleled, one occurring twice, with the result that we read of guests' being served by knights whose hands had been cut off. Clearly, the reading of *X* is faulty.

In the foregoing examples we find *O BL W C* agreeing in error against Group *X'*. These cases of agreement in common error, supported by scores of corroborative cases of agreement against *X'* in which both versions make good sense, justify us in grouping them together in one family. In that small portion of the text covered by *OAc*, I have found no cases in which *OAc* can be linked to these manuscripts through agreement in common error, but since it will be proved later (see pp. 37-39 below) that *OAc* is filiated with *C* and hence must belong to the same main group, I am, for the sake of completeness, here including *OAc* with *O BL W C* in Group *X* as opposed to *P Br Be* in Group *X'*.

3. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EDITIONS TO THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THEIR GROUP

With the general family groups *X* and *X'* established, it now remains to determine the relationship of *BL* to the other members of its group.

a. *BL* is based on a manuscript of Group *X* without contamination from Group *X'*.—It has been shown that *BL* is definitely filiated with Group *X*. There are a number of cases of agreement of *BL* with *X'* against the other manuscripts which are obviously fortuitous. These need not be noted here since they

are of no importance in determining contamination.⁹ Even those cases in which the concurrence does not seem, at first glance, to be fortuitous, yield readily to some explanation other than contamination. The following are typical:

Case 1

BL) . . . incōtinēt se fait armer 7 *sen va aux gallees* 7
se faict porter a naige deuers son oncle.

(158,a,18-20)

O(C) Perlesvax se fet armer tantost, puis se fet nagier vers
son oncle.

(3945-46)

Br(P) Per. se fet armer tantost *et entre en une galie desouz la
sale*. Si se fet nagier uers son oncle.

In this case we find in *BL* a clause that does not occur in *OC*, and a somewhat similar clause in *BrP*. While the reading of *BL* does not here agree word for word with that of *BrP*, it is probable that both readings go back ultimately to the source of both *X* and *X'*. The agreement of *OC* against *PBrBL* can probably be explained as a case of fortuitous agreement in omission. This is borne out by the fact that *W* also has a clause at this point. The passage in *W* reads as follows: "Then Peredur caused his arms to be put on, *and after that, he caused one of his galleys to be pushed into the sea*, and he also rowed to his uncle." Although the reading of the clause in *W* does not agree closely with either *BL* or *BrP*, the presence of the word *galleys* indicates that *W*'s source must have had a reading similar to that of *P Br BL*.

Case 2

BL) Pour dieu sire souuienne vous du brachet q̄ vous emmenastes avec vous *quant vous vinstes q̄rir lescu* q̄ vous

⁹In determining what variants and concordances are really significant, I have derived much aid from Bateman Edwards, *A Classification of the Manuscripts of Gui de Cambrai's Vengement Alixandre* (Elliott Monog., No. 20), 1926, especially from his sub-chapter entitled "Textual Concordances Due to Similarity in the Mental Processes of the Scribes, and Consequently without Weight for establishing Filiation of the Manuscripts," pp. 13-24.

portez 7 laissastes le vostre en la court du roy artus/
le petit brachet ne cōgneut iamais homme ne femme
q̄ vous 7 moy . . .

(166,c,29-33)

O(C) Sire, fet ele, souviegne vos del brachet qui vos atendi
a la cort le roi Artu *duc'a cele ore que vos venistes*,
adonques s'en ala aveques vos; mes il ne volt onques
nului connoistre a la cort se moi non . . .

(5017-19)

Br) . . . *tresqua icele oure que uos uenistes querre lescu*

P) . . . *usqua icele eure que uos uenistes por lescu*

This case may be explained as a fortuitous agreement in omission on the part of *O* and *C*. Another explanation may be that the sixteenth-century redactor, who remembered the account of Perlesvaus' coming for the shield earlier in the romance, added this detail here. It is not necessary to assume that he derived it from some manuscript of Group *X'*. The second explanation is all the more plausible since the entire passage in which the words occur is unusually free and expanded. *W* throws no light on the problem since it has a lacuna here.

Case 3

BL) Joseph lhermite dit quil yroit mōlt voullentiers ayder a
perleuaulx *sil ne cuydoit point pecher* . . .

(177,a,13-15)

O) Joseus, qui fix de son oncle estoit, dist as autres her-
mites qu'il li iroit volentiers aidier *s'il n'i avoit pechié*.

(6139-41)

Be(BrP) *sil ni quidoit auoir pechie*

W) *but for fear of his sin*

In the above case, the reading of *BL* is closer to that of *Br P Be* than to that of *O*. The difference is so slight, however, that it is of no great importance. It is probable that the scribe of *O*

departed from his source here, though his reading is acceptable from the view-point of sense. *W* is of no aid since it paraphrases the words in question.

Case 4

BL) . . . sen fiert parmy le corps 7 cheut *de dessus le mur*
en leaue . . .

(177,c,37-38)

O) . . . s'en feri parmi le cors e chaî *par dessor les mules*
en l'aigue. . .

(6215)

Be(Br) . . . *tot contreual les murs* . . .

P) . . . *contreual les murs* . . .

In the above case, the context of the passage shows that the reading *murs* is the correct one. It is clear that the prototype of Group *X* had this reading and that *O* departed from it. *W* has a lacuna here.

The foregoing are typical cases in which the readings of *BL* seem more closely related to Group *X'* than to Group *X*. Since the agreements of this kind are few in number and readily yield to some explanation other than contamination, it can be stated with certainty that *BL* is derived from some manuscript of Group *X* without contamination from Group *X'*.

b. *BL* is derived neither from *C* nor *OAc*.—Manuscripts *C* and *OAc* form a sub-group under Group *X*. Although *OAc* covers only a little more than the first branch of the *Perlesvaus*, there are many definite cases of agreement in reading between *C* and *OAc* against the other members of the group. The following are typical:

Example 1

O) . . . une dame si bele que *totes les biautez du monde*
ne se porroient conparer a sa biauté.

(294-95)

BL) . . . une moult noble dame belle a merueilles/ tellement
que *toutes les beaultez* du monde nestoyent a comparer
a elle.

(125,c,43-125,d,1)

Be(Br) . . . *totes les bialtes del mont*

C(OAc) . . . *toutes les dames del monde*

W) paraphrases.

Example 2

O(PBr) Dex en soit loez.

(566)

Be) deus en soit aorez et sa mere.

BL) dieu en soit loue.

(128,a,41)

C(OAc) diex en soit loes et grassies.

W) omits.

Example 3

O(BrBe) . . . e ala seoir a la destre partie vers l'autel, desus
une chaire molt riche.

(296-97)

BL) . . . et sen alla seoir a la dextre partie de lautel dessus
une moult riche chaire.

(125,d,3-4)

W) . . . and sitting in a chair . . .

C(OAc) . . . *une chaire dor molt riche.*

Example 4

O(BrBe) . . . e le voit en propre figure.

(317)

W) . . . and that in his proper form.

BL) paraphrases freely.

C(OAc) . . . *en poure figure.*

Example 5

O(*BrBe*) . . . e avoit (*Br*: uoit) a l'entree une barre *lanceïce*
(*Be*: lencie).

(266)

BL) . . . 7 auoit a lentree dicelle une barre *drecee*.

(125,b,39-40)

C(*OAc*) . . . une barre *couleiche*

W) . . . a bar of strong oak.

The foregoing examples and others equally conclusive prove that *C* and *OAc* form a sub-group under Group X. There is evidence, furthermore, that this sub-group did not derive from *O*. There is no evidence of value in that small portion of the romance covered by *OAc*, but in the succeeding branches there are several readings of *C* which show that it was not derived from *O*. The following will illustrate:

Example 1

O) Damoisele fet li ch'rs *lons nia mestier*. JI le couiēt
ioste a moj en totes fins. 7 ge le deffi. fet messire .G.

(798-99)

C) . . . *lons plai nia mestier*

BL) . . . *loz ny a mestier*

(130,b,25-26)

P(*BeBr*) . . . *lonc plait ni a mestier*

Example 2

O) . . . car il cuide q̄ li uauasors li die uoir *mes fet* car
l ch'rs ne uenoit mie ilueq̄s por le uauassor mal fere.

(4305-7)

BL(C) . . . *mais non faisoit*

Br(P) . . . *mes non auoit*

Example 3

- C) atant prent tere la galie et .p. est fors issus et la roine et ses puceles sont as fenestres del castiel *por ueoir del oncle et del neuue la bataille*. la roine j eust tramis de ses ch'rs mais .p. ne uaut.

(236,a,23-26)

- BL) . . . la royne 7 ses cheualiers 7 damoiselles sen viennēt aux fenestres *pour veoir la bataille*. si vouloit la royne q̄ perleuaulx menast avecq̄s luy aucuns de ses cheualiers pour luy aider/ mais perleuaulx ne le voulut mie.

(158,a,24-28)

- O) . . . La roïne et si chevalier et ses puceles sont venu as fenestres del chastel *por voer del oncle et del neuue*. La roïne i eust. . .

(3949-51)

Br(P) *por ueoir la contenance del neuue et del oncle*.

In the foregoing examples we have cases in which *O* is obviously in error, but in which the mistakes of *O* are not found in *C*. If *C* had been copied directly from *O*, it would most likely contain the same mistakes since the scribe of *C* cared little whether a passage made sense or not. If, on the other hand, he did attempt to emend these particular passages, it would not be likely in Example 1 above that the resulting reading would coincide with that of the other manuscripts. The only conclusion is, then, that *C* is not derived from *O*.

There is abundant evidence to show that neither member of the sub-group *COAc* was the manuscript source of *BL*. It is not necessary to cite variant readings to prove that *OAc* was not the original of *BL*. Since *OAc* covers only approximately the first branch of the *Perlesvaus* and since it is used to form the introduction to one of the redactions of the *Queste*, it is out of the question to suppose that the redactor of *BL* derived the first branch of the romance from *OAc* and the remainder from some complete manuscript of the *Perlesvaus*.

Even a most superficial comparison of *C* with *BL* reveals that the former could not have been the manuscript source of the latter. We have seen that *C* was made by a very careless scribe. Not only does it contain many omissions, most of them short, but it has also many faulty readings. The omissions made by *C* do not, in general, occur in *BL*, which is sufficient proof that *C* was not the source of the early prints. For example, *C* (233,b,24) omits the bracketed words in the following passage quoted from *O*:

Atant ez vos les prevos et les segnors de la cité, et viennent contre Lancelot. l'“Sire, font il, tote ceste cité est esmeüe de joie por l'amor de vos, et tuit cil estrument sonent por la joie de vostre venue.—Et por quel reson por moi? fet Lanceloz.”—Nos le vos diron, font il.

(3511-15)

BL contains the entire passage, abridged somewhat to be sure, but it is obvious that its source could not have been *C*. The passage in *BL* runs as follows:

a tant viēnent les plus grās de la ville cōtre lācelot 7 luy diēt. Sire fōt ilz toute ceste cite est esmeue pour lamour de vous et font ceste ioye pour vostre bienvenue et pour q̃lle raison fait lācelot nous le vous dirōs fōt ilz.

(154,d,11-15)

The above omission in *C* is obviously a scribal error due to the fact that the word *Lanceloz* is found immediately before the omitted passage and also as the last word of the passage. Such mistakes are very frequent in *C*. Other omissions, which are not so easily explained, occur also very frequently in this manuscript and frequently render the passage unintelligible. Numerous other cases could be given, but the preceding typical example will suffice to prove that *C* could not have been the source of *BL*.

In the matter of variant readings within Group *X*, *BL* almost invariably has the reading of *O* as against *C*. The few cases in which *BL* agrees with *C* against *O* usually involve only a single word or phrase. With one exception, which will be treated later, these cases can be readily explained. The following are typical:

Case 1

- O) . . . ci porra l'en bien esprover s'il a en vostre cuer *tant de valor* com il pert dehors.

(3449-50)

PBr) . . . *tant de ualor*

C) . . . *tant de bonte ne tant de ualor*

BL) . . . on pourra veoir sil ya en vostre cueur *tât de bôte 7 de vleur* (BL' has *valeur*) côme il apert a vous par dehors.

(154,b,12-13)

W lacking

This case of agreement between *C* and *BL* against the rest is easily explained. Since the words in question have all the earmarks of a *cliché*, the most obvious explanation is that the agreement is fortuitous. If, on the other hand, the prototype of Group *X* had the reading of *C* and *BL*, the scribe of *O* might have shortened the longer reading to *tant de valor*.

Case 2

- O) Ele l'enmoine dedenz une tente si le fet assoer *desor une riche couche*.

(3270-71)

P(Br) . . . *desor une molt riche couche*

C) . . . *desus une cote pointe*

BL) Lors le maine en une tête et le fait seoir *sur une riche --contrepoinete*.

(152,d,3-5)

W lacking

In the foregoing case, the reading of the prototype of Group *X* may have been *cotepointe*, a reading kept by *BL* and *C* but changed by *O*. This is less likely to be a case of fortuitous agreement between *BL* and *C* since it is improbable that the scribes substituted independently the rather uncommon word *cotepointe* for the very common word *couche*.

Case 3

O) . . . *car il cuide q̄ li uauasors li die uoir mes fet car*
l ch'rs ne uenoit mie ilueqs por le uauassor mal fere.

(4305-7)

BL(C) . . . *mais non faisoit*

Br(P) . . . *mes non auoit*

W) . . . *However, he had told a lie . . .*

In this example, which been cited in another connection, we have a case in which O is unquestionably in error and in which BL agrees with C. The explanation is apparently that the reading of the prototype of Group X was like that of C and BL, and that O departed from it.

There is only one case of agreement between C and BL against O that is difficult to explain. It is the more complicated since it involves also Group X'. The passages run as follows:

O(PBe) Li Buens Chevaliers estoit vallez qant il l'ocist, e *ge*
vengeroie mon pere vallez, se ge le trovoie, car il me
 toli le meilleur chevalier qui fust o (Be: ch'r del)
 roiaume de Logres qant il ocist mon pere.

(986-89)

C(Br) li bons ch'rs estoit ualles quant il locist (Br: ocist) et
ie uengeroie volentiers mon pere (Br: de lui) *se ie le*
trouuoie car il me toli le melor ch'r qui fust el roialme
 de logres quant il locist (Br: ocist) mon pere.

BL) Et quant il loccist il nestoit encores que ung ieune ser-
 uiteur. Et *ie vengeroyes voullentiers mon pere se ie le*
pouoyes trouuer/ Car mon pere estoit lung des vaillās
 cheualiers de ce royaulme de logres/

(131,d,40-44)

W) abridges as follows: ". . . and he was a youth then.
 And I will avenge that upon him, if I shall have an
 opportunity of meeting with him. . ."

In this case, *BrCBL* agree against *OPBe*. To be sure, we find agreement between *P* and *Be* of Group *X'* and between *C* and *BL* of Group *X*, but the position of *O* and *Br* is difficult to explain. Either reading is acceptable in sense. That of *BrCBL* is the more readily understood, but that of *OPBe* is entirely satisfactory, as a consideration of its context will show. Gawain is riding in a forest in search of the road to the country of the Fisher King. About noon he finds a young man alighted from his horse under a tree. Engaging him in conversation, Gawain learns that the young man is seeking the lord of the forest, the best knight in the world, though he has little reason to praise him because he (the knight) had killed the young man's father in this forest. The young man then goes on to say in *O(P Be)*: "Li Buens Chevaliers estoit vallez qant il l'ocist, e ge vengeroie mon pere vallez, se ge le trovoie, car il me toli le meilleur chevalier qui fust o roiaume de Logres qant il ocist mon pere." These words should obviously be translated as follows: "The good knight was a youth when he killed him, and I, a youth, should avenge my father if I found him, for he took from me the best knight that was in the kingdom of Logres when he killed my father." Though the reading of *BrCBL* is more readily understood, at least at first glance, there are two good arguments in favor of the reading of *OPBe*: in the first place, it is the *lectio difficilior*, and in the second place, it is the reading of the three most reliable manuscripts. *O* and *P* are especially trustworthy, while *C* is quite unreliable, *Br* is only slightly better, and *BL* frequently makes mistakes on difficult readings. It is extremely probable, then, that the reading of *OPBe* is the correct one. It is hard to explain, however, why *Br*, *C*, and *BL* should all three depart from the original in identically the same manner. Perhaps the scribes mistook the word *valles* for the abbreviation of *volentiers* (*volêt's*) and shifted the word to the usual adverbial position immediately after the verb. The conditional or an imperfect subjunctive used conditionally would easily attract the adverb *bien* or *volentiers* (cf. Marie de France, *Biscl.*, 34: "Une chose vus demandasse mult volentiers."). In this case, the scribes of *BrC* and the redactor of *BL* might have changed the text independently and arrived at the same result.

The case just treated is the only example of agreement between *C* and *BL* against *O* that does not readily yield to an explanation other than contamination. Whatever the explanation of this case may be, it is highly improbable that *BL* took this reading from *C*, since it is an isolated case, and more than one example would be necessary to prove contamination. It can therefore be stated with certainty that *BL* is not derived from *C* nor is it contaminated by this manuscript.

c. *The Relationship of BL to O and to W.*—It has been shown that *BL* is definitely filiated with Group *X*, and that within this group it stands apart from *C* and *OAc*, which form a subgroup. It now remains to determine, if possible, the relationship of *BL* to *O* and to *W*.

1) *The Relationship of BL to O.*—In general, *BL* is closer to *O* than to any other manuscript, but there are several cases which prove clearly that *O* could not have been the direct source of *BL*. The following examples will suffice to prove this point.

Example 1

O) Lais[on]¹⁰ les dormir, que Dex nos desfemde de tel hoste.

(6991-92)

BL) Allons allôs laissons les dormir *que malle nuyt ayent ilz*. Dieu nous deffâde de toute honte.

(184,d,32-34)

P(Br) laissons les dormir *que mal repos aient il* et damedieux nos desfende a nul ior mais (*Br*: a toz iormes) de tex ostes.

C and *OAc* are lacking, and *W* has a lacuna here.

Example 2

O) [C]ist hauz estoire nos tesmoigne quant la conqueste dou chastel fu faite *que mout li plot*.

(6252-53)

¹⁰The syllable in brackets is blurred in *O*.

BL) Ceste haulte hystoyre nous tesmoigne $\bar{q}$ quant la con-
q̄ste du chastel fut faicte $\bar{q}$ *mōlt pleust au sauueur*
du monde.

(178,a,14-17)

P(Br Be) . . . *que li sauuerre del mont en fu ioious et molt li*
plot.

C and **OAc** are lacking, and **W** has a lacuna here.

Example 3

O) Or porroie je bien finer, se Damledex voloit, car j'ai
assez longuement vesqu. Dame, fait il, *il* ne vos doit
mie anuier, car ele ne fait a nului mal.

(8908-11)

BL) Or face dieu sa voullente de moy quant il luy plaira
puis que ie vous voy/ car iay assez longuement vescu.
Dame faict perleuaulx *vostre vie* ne vous doibt mye
ennuyer/ car elle ne fait mal a nully.

(201,a,45-201,b,4)

P(Br) Dame fait il *uostre uie* ne doit mie anuier (**Br**: nule
annule) . . .

C **OAc Be** are lacking, and **W** has a free paraphrase.

In the foregoing examples we have cases of readings in **BL** which must go back to the original source of both **X** and **X'** since they agree with the readings of **X'**. Since **O** has departed from these readings, it is clear that **O** could not have been the source of **BL**. It remains now to determine, if possible, whether **O** and **BL** form a sub-group or whether each derives independently from **X**. It has been shown that **C** and **OAc** form a sub-group under **X**. Conclusive evidence of this fact is offered by the numerous agreements in distinctive readings found in **C** and **OAc** against the other manuscripts (cf. pp. 37-39 above). In most of these cases **O** and **BL** are in agreement with each other, but it is to be noted that they are usually also in agreement with the manuscripts of **X'**. This being the case, **O** and **BL** might each derive indepen-

dently from *X* without our assuming a common ancestor farther down in the manuscript tradition. If, on the other hand, *X'* and *COAc* have substantially the same reading while *O* and *BL* agree in a distinctly different reading, we must conclude, if the examples are sufficiently numerous and convincing, that *O* and *BL* form a sub-group. The evidence for such a grouping will now be presented.

Example 1

O) Damoisele fet li ch'rs *lons nia mestier*. JI le couiēt ioste a moj en totes fins. 7 ge le deffi.

(798-99)

BL) Damoysele faict le Cheuallier/ *Loz ny a mestier* il luy conuient iouster a moy/ 7 ie le deffie.

(130,b,25-26)

W) *O* Sir, says the knight, *we need not argue long*,¹¹ thou must combat with me, and I give thee warning.

C) *lons plai nia mestier*

Br) *lon plez ni a mestier*

P) *lonc plait ni a mestier*

Be) *lons plais ni a mestier*

In this case, the reading of *Br P Be C W* is unquestionably the correct one. *O* and *BL* agree in omitting the word *plez*. Unless this is a case of purely fortuitous agreement, which is unlikely, there are two possible explanations: 1) The error of *O* and *BL* was found in the prototype of the group, *X*, but *C* and *W* noticed it and corrected it in identically the same manner. This is very improbable, for the scribe of *C* was extremely careless, frequently garbling the simplest passages and

¹¹The Welsh reads: *nyt reit y ni hir dadleu*. The English translation is correct. *Dadleu* is the verbal noun meaning "arguing." I owe this information to Mr. G. S. Lane.

evidently caring little about the sense. Granting that in this particular case he tried to emend his text, it would nevertheless be remarkable for him to have hit upon exactly the same word that is found in the manuscripts of *X'*, even though the expression *long plait* is fairly common in Old French.¹² Indeed, it is conceivable that he might have used *respit* (delay) or *contens* (dispute) instead of *plait*, since these terms occur elsewhere in the romance. 2) A second explanation is that the reading of *X* was correct and that the error of *O* and *BL* goes back to their common source, some descendant of *X* which was not an ancestor of *C*. It is reasonable to suppose that *BL* was here following a manuscript with a defective reading. If his original had read *lons plais*, it is unlikely that the redactor of *BL* would have omitted *plais*, since he was quite familiar with the word (cf. l. 9531, "quar il i mouvra tel plet," which he renders: "quil mouuera tel plaict.") It is more probable that he had before him a reading similar to that of *O*, which may have been written *lōs ni a mes-tier*, and, disregarding or failing to notice the mark over the *o*, he took the word for *loz*. If, then, this error in *BL* and *O* goes back to a common source, some descendant of *X* which was not an ancestor of *C*, we have evidence of filiation between *BL* and *O*. If *W* is related to *BL*, and there is some evidence pointing toward such a filiation (cf. pp. 52-55 below), we must assume that the Welsh scribe made a correction in his reading here. It is, of course, impossible to determine which of the foregoing explanations is the correct one. We have merely set forth the facts of the case and their possible interpretations in order that they may be weighed with the rest of the evidence.

Example 2

- O) Molt deüssiez estre dedenz vostre cuer joieus se vos
fussoiz en la chapele: mes vos en avez perdu l'entree

¹²It occurs in three out of twelve of the citations given by Godefroy under *plait* meaning "paroles, langage," e. g., *En la salle entre sans lonc plait* (*Couci*, 115, Crapelet).

par molt pou de parole. Car *li huis de la chapele* est si saintisme por les saintes reliques qui i sont, que ja provoivre ne home terrian n'i enterra des le samedi a midi devant le lundi enprés la messe.

(2472-77)

BL) . . . car *lhuys de la chappelle* est si tressainct . . .

(145,c,20-21)

C(P Br) . . . *li lius (Br:leus) de la capiele*

W) . . . for so holy is *the chapel*

The situation here is analagous to the preceding case, except that *W* does not enter into the discussion since it avoids the key-word. The explanation here, as in the foregoing example, is either that *C*'s source read *li huis* as do *O* and *BL*, but that *C* noticed the unusual reading and changed it, or that *O* and *BL* found their reading in a common source different from that of *C*. In view of the juxtaposition of *lius* and *chapele* elsewhere in the romance¹³ and the careless habits of the *C* scribe, the second of the foregoing explanations is the more probable. A third explanation, namely, that *O* and *BL* both misread their source and hit upon the same result, is also possible because of the similarity in appearance of the words *huis* and *lius*.

Example 3

O) E li rois vint a son cheval au plus tost qu'il pot, e monte, e met son escu a son col, e son glaive en son poing, e s'en torne arriere grant aleüre.

(362-64)

BL) Et le Roy vint a son Cheual et monte dessus et met son escu a son col et son Glaive en son poing et sen va grant alleure.

(126,b,30-33)

¹³Cf. II. 275-276, "Mes li lius de la chapele est de si grant dignité . . ."; II. 903-904, ". . .e les mainne en la chapele, car li lius i estoit molt biax"; also II. 943-44 and I. 8345.

Br Be C OAc, in addition, have *prent* before *son glaive*.

P is still lacking.

W) . . . and Arthur came to his horse; and took his spear and his shield, and mounted his horse, and returned back.

This case does not, in itself, point conclusively to a close filiation between *O* and *BL* since it might be explained as a case of fortuitous concurrence in omission in the two manuscripts, but it is of interest because it bears out the tentative grouping suggested by the two preceding examples. In this case, the reading of *BrBeCOAc* is preferable, for certainly "prendre son glaive en son poing" is better than "mettre son glaive en son poing." The common error of *O* and *BL* may here go back to a common source. *W* abbreviates the passage and thus is of little value.

Case 4

O) . . . et porte li chevaliers un oisel sor son poig, et la damoisele a .iiii. *chapiar* d'orfrois sor son chief.

(2498-2499)

BL) . . . *quatre chapeaulx* dorfroys

(145,d,26-27)

W) . . . *four garlands* of gold

C) . . . *un capiel* dorfroys

P) . . . *i. chapel* de fleurs

Br) . . . *un chapel* de flors

In this case it is obvious that *un chapel* of *PBrC* is the correct reading. The transcription of the word *un* as *iiii* would be of no importance if found in only one manuscript, since four vertical lines could easily be taken for either reading. The case

becomes noteworthy when it occurs in three manuscripts and particularly so when it bears out the tentative grouping suggested by the three foregoing cases. The probable explanation is that the error of *OBLW* goes back to a common source which was not an ancestor of *C*. This is a more plausible explanation than that the *C* scribe, who cared little whether his transcription made sense, should have noticed the mistake of his source and corrected it. In any case, *d'orfrois* must have been the reading of *X*.

Case 5

O) . . . et la damoisele gita .iiii. granz criz.

(2817)

BL) Adonc la damoyselle getta troys moult grans plains.

(148,c,41-42)

W) . . . three loud cries

C) . . . et la damoisele jeta .i. grant cri

PBr like C.

This case is almost identical with the preceding one, with the same grouping of *OBLW* against *CPBr*. To be sure, *BL* and *W* both have *troys* instead of *quatre*, but obviously they were transcribing a numeral and not the indefinite article as is the case with *CPBr*. For the same reasons as those cited under Case 4, the more probable explanation here is that the reading of *OBLW* derives from a common source different from that of *C*.

The foregoing cases furnish the evidence for the filiation of *O* and *BL*. There are several cases of agreement in common error between *O* and *BL* in the second half of the romance, which is lacking in *C* and *OAc*; these are, of course, of no value in establishing a sub-group since the errors may go back to the prototype of Group *X*. Had *C* and *OAc* continued to the end, more evidence of a sub-group *OBL* might possibly be at hand. In weighing the evidence before us, we must bear in mind that, since *O* is,

in general, quite reliable in its readings, there are relatively few chances of agreement in common error or distinctive reading between *O* and *BL*, and those that do occur are all the more significant. On the other hand, since these agreements between *O* and *BL* are so few in number and since several among them may yield to an explanation other than filiation, it cannot be stated with certainty that they form a sub-group. Thus the existence of the sub-group *OBL* is merely probable.

2) *The Relationship of BL to W.*—Since *W* is a free translation characterized by frequent omissions and great condensation, it is difficult to determine very closely its relation to the other manuscripts. My difficulty has been increased by the fact that, not knowing Welsh, I have had to consult the English translation, which is two stages removed from the French manuscript from which it derives. The only fact that has been unquestionably established is that *W* belongs to Group *X* (see pp. 23-34 above). We have also seen that it does not have the distinctive readings characterizing the sub-group *C OAc* (see pp. 37-39 above). It will have been observed, furthermore, that in most of the passages quoted in the discussion of the filiation of the manuscripts within Group *X*, *W* either paraphrases or omits; hence, it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions as to its place in its group. There are a number of cases, however, in which *W* and *BL* agree in readings against *O* and the other manuscripts. These cases are sufficiently numerous and striking to indicate a closer filiation between *W* and *BL* than is the case between *W* and *O* or between *BL* and *O*. They are as follows:

Case 1

O(*CPBrBe*) Il va por son glaive e por son escu, e les met *dedenz la chapele*.

(906-907)

BL) Lors messire Gauvain prent son glaive 7 son escu 7 les met *auþs de luy*.

(131,b,17-18)

W) Then Gualchemi fetched his spear and his shield, and placed them *by his side*.

Case 2

O(CBr) Mes que nos vaut sa chevalerie *quant nous n'en some secourues ne aidiees?*

(4975-76)

BL) Mais sa cheuallerie ne nous vault riens *quāt il ne nous secourt en nostre necessite*.

(166,b,18-19)

W) . . . *when he shews not his warlike prowess in our necessity*.

Case 3

O(PBr) Beaus filz, cist chasteaus est vostres, et ceste riviere (PBr:terre) environ que l'en m'a toloite (Br:tolue), doit estre vostre par droit, car ele muet de par vostre pere et de par moi.

(5271-73)

BL) Beau filz ce chastel est vostre *et toutes les appartenances dicy enuîrō*.

(168,d,8-9)

W) Lord son, says she, the castle and the vale, that thou seest, ought to be in thy possession, *along with their appurtenances*, and that by true patrimonial right to thee.

Case 4

O(PBr) . . . si n'ose nus *contendre* envers lui.

(5456-57)

BL) . . . que nul nose plus aller ne venir ne *lactendre*.
(170,c,44-45)

W) . . . and there is no one that dares to *await him* in any place.

Case 5

O(PBr) . . . et dient que il le conduiront *desque e[n] la piece de terre*, se il i pueent aler.
(5704-5)

BL) . . . 7 dient qui (*sic*) le conduyront *iusqs a la terre ou le cheuallier au dragon est silz y peuent aller*.
(172,d,39-40)

W) . . . and said that they would follow him *as far as the place where the Knight of the Fiery Dragon was*.

Case 6

O(CPBr) Il issent fors de la chapele.

BL) Atant yssirent hors de la Chappelle et *sen vindrent en la Salle*.
(1473-74)
(136,b,41-43)

W) And thence, they came from the chapel *to the hall*.

Case 7

O(CPBr) . . . et distrent c'or savoient il bien *qu'il avoient fete lor penitance* (C:penance).
(3909-10)

BL) . . . 7 diët *quilz ont acheue 7 fait leur penitēce*.
(157,d,18-19)

W) . . . and said *that they had ended their penance*.

Case 8

O(CPBrBe) . . . or vos doinst Dex *volenté* (Be:corage; Br(P): voulante et courage) de fere la demande (C: demander che *for* fere la d.) que il autres chevaliers a cui li Graaus s'aparut ne volst fere.

(951-952)

BL) . . . or sire dist lhermite dieu vous doint *le pouoir* de faire la demāde q̄ le cheualier ne voulut faire du saīt greaal quāt il saparut a luy.

(131,c,36-39)

W) . . . may God cause thee *to be able* to ask what the other neglected to say, when the Holy Greal appeared to him.

The foregoing cases offer strong, if not conclusive, evidence for filiation between *BL* and *W*. Certainly they are more convincing than those pointing toward filiation between *BL* and *O*. But since we are here dealing with a sixteenth-century edition of the *Perlesvaus* and an English translation of a free Welsh version, we are not justified in stating with certainty that *W* and *BL* form a sub-group, though its existence is very probable.

d. *Conclusions regarding the place of BL in Group X.*—It has been clearly established that *BL* belongs to Group *X* (*O BL W C OAc*) as opposed to Group *X'* (*P Br Be*). Within Group *X* there is a clearly defined sub-group, *C OAc*. The relationship of *O*, *BL*, and *W* to one another cannot be determined with absolute certainty, but there is some evidence pointing toward an affinity between *BL* and *O*, and it is very probable that *BL* and *W* are definitely filiated. These conclusions are represented graphically in my last chapter (see p. 81).

CHAPTER III

HOW THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EDITIONS OF THE *PERLESVAUS* USED THEIR MANUSCRIPT SOURCE

It has been shown that the 1516 and the 1523 editions of the *Perlesvaus* derive from a manuscript source which stood closer to *O* than to any other extant French manuscript. It now remains to be shown in what manner the redactor of the sixteenth-century prints made use of his manuscript source. While the text of the early prints is, in general, fairly close to that of the manuscripts, there are not a few cases of alteration of the text. These changes consist chiefly of faulty transcriptions of proper names, and of expansions, paraphrases, abridgments, and omissions of individual passages. A consideration of these agreements and variations now follows.

1. CLOSE FOLLOWING OF MANUSCRIPT SOURCE

In general, the early prints of the *Perlesvaus* follow their manuscript source much more closely than one would expect, considering the late date of their publication. In the first place, no episodes are introduced that are not found in the extant manuscripts, nor is the order of the episodes changed. Thus the lost manuscript that served as the source of the early prints furnishes corroborative evidence for the stability of episodes and arrangement in the *Perlesvaus* tradition. In the second place, the text proper of the sixteenth-century editions is surprisingly close to that of the manuscripts. To be sure, in order to make the romance intelligible to their sixteenth-century readers, the redactors frequently made changes in spelling, morphology, and syntax, and substituted current words for those that had become obsolete. Aside from this modernization of the language, however, the original text is, in general, rather faithfully followed.

This will be evident from a comparison of the following corresponding passages from *O* and *BL*.

O

"Vos qui la venez, encontrastes vos le roi Artu en ceste forest? — Naie, fet cil, mes vos é encontré dont ge sui molt liez en mon cuer, car vos estes partiz de la chapele comme lerres e comme traitres; vos en aportez le chandelabre d'or mauvesement, de coi li chevaliers ert ennorez qi gist en la chapele morz. Si vueil que vos le me rendez, si le reporteré; o, se ce non, ge vos desfi. —Par foi, fet li vallez, ge ne vos en rendu mie, ainz l'enporteré, s'en feré present le roi Artu.—Par foi, fet cil, vos le conperrez molt chier, se no me rendez molt tost." E li valez fiert des esperons, e cuide celui oter; e cil le haste, e le fiert du cotel o destre costé si qu'il li enbat o cors desq'enz o manche.

(148-158)

BL

Vous qui venez vers moy auez vous point rencontre le roy artus en celle forest/non fait il mais ie vous ay rencontre dont ie suis moult ioyeux en mon cuer/car vous estes party de la chappelle comme larron et comme traistre/ car vous emportez malicieusement le chandelier dor de quoy le cheualier estoit honnore qui gyst en la chappelle mort/ si conuient il que le me rendez 7 ie le reporteray en son lieu/ ou sinon il vous fault batailler cõtre moy a oultrãce Par ma foy fait le varlet ie ne le vous rendray point ains lemporтерay 7 en feray ung present au roy artus/ par ma foy dist ce villain vous le comperrez chierement si vous ne le me rendez 7 le varlet frape des esperons 7 cuyde celui oultrier 7 le villain se haste 7 le fiert du cousteau au dextre coste si quil luy mist iusques au mãche.

(124,b,28-45)

While it is impossible to give an accurate computation, it may be said that about two-thirds of the romance as found in *BL* follows its manuscript source with the approximate fidelity of the preceding passage.

2. PROPER NAMES

On the whole, the spelling of proper names in the early prints of the *Perlesvaus* does not differ much more widely from that of the manuscripts than the manuscripts differ from one another in this regard. In general, the spelling of names in *BL* is somewhat closer to that of *O* than to that of the other manuscripts.

In the following list are tabulated those proper names in *BL* of which the orthography differs in any marked degree from that of the corresponding names in *O* or for which an entirely different name is found in *O*. The spellings in the *O* column do not represent all the forms found for each name in *O* but only those that have been transcribed by the redactor of *BL*. No account has been taken of those names in which only very minor changes occur (*e.g.*, *Tour Vermeille* for *Vermeille Tor*, *Chevallier Noir* for *Noir[s] Chevalier[s]*, etc.).

<i>BL</i>	<i>O</i>
Aistre Perilleux	Aitre Perilleux, ——— Perillex
Alain de Caralon	Alains d'Esqavalon
Alain le Gros, Yvain le Gros (father of Perceval)	Julain(s) le (li) Gros, Huilain, Huieilains, Yulain(s), Yylains
Albanie, Albanye	Albanie, Arbanie, Arbenie
Alibanius de la Gaste Cité, Aliban	Alibans de la Gaste Cité, Alibran
Alyz	Alecys
Andry l'apostre	Andriex li apostres
Archas	Archier
Aristor, Arristor; Aristor des Montaignes (187,a,23)	Aristor; Alistor d'Amorave (7260) (<i>Br</i> : Aristoz de Moreines)
Ban de Benoic	Ban de Benoyc, Ben de Benuic, Ben de Benoic
Bercois le Chault	Bertolés li Chaus
Brandillis de Galles	Brandalus de Gales
Brians (Bryans) des Isles (Ysles)	Brien(s) des Isles (Illes); Brianz des Illes (7744)
Brians, Roy	Rous Jaianz
Brunbrandillis, Bruns Brandillis	Brun Brandalis, Bru Brandalis
Calistes	Calixtes
Cardueil; Cordueil (127,d,11)	C(K)ardueil, Carduell, Carduel, Cardoell, Cardoil
Celesay, Chastel de	Asai, Chasteaux del

BL

Cesestre
 Clamades des Umbres
 Colobrinus (son of Calobrutus)
 Colobrutus, Kalobrutus,
 Colobrinus, Calobrinus
 Darase
 Dondoine, Dardane
 Elinaux de Canelon,
 Elmault de Caralon
 Eliza
 Escon
 Evaulx
 Fontaine, Forest
 Fortune de Vermeille Lande
 Gallee, Cheval(1)ier de la
 Gallenain de la Blanche Tour
 Gaste Chastel(-eau), Povre
 Chastel, Povre Chastel de la
 Gaste, Povre Chevallier de
 Gaste
 Gaste Manoir, Gaste Maison,
 Chasteau du Gaste Chastel,
 Gaste Chastel
 Gaudree, Landree
 Genievre

 Gladoyn, Gladoin
 Gloz de Galles
 Golaas
 Gorgorans

 Gosgaliens
 Gouart du Chastel de Babiloine

 Greaal

O

Celestre
 Clamadoz des Onbres
 Calobrus, Qualobrus
 Calobrutus, Calobritius, Colo-
 brutus, Qualobrutus
 Denise
 Dandrane
 Elinanz(-t) d'Escavalon(s)

 Elyza
 Edem
 Evax
 Soutaine, Forest
 Fortunés de la Vermeille Lande
 Galie, Chevalier(s) de la
 Galerians de la Blanche Tor
 Gaste Chastel, Povre Chastel,
 Segnor del Gaste Chastel

 Gaste Manoir, Gaste Meson,
 Gaste Rechet

 Jandree, Gandree
 Guenievre, Gueneivre, Genevre,
 Genievre
 Gladoain(s)
 Clef de Gales
 Goloés
 Gurgaran(s), Gurgarant,
 Gurgaram
 Gosgallians
 Gohart(-z) del Chastel de la
 Balainne
 Graal, *nom.* Graaus, Graauz,
 Graax, Graals; Greal

Guet(t)e, Roy de la; Roy de
la Grue; *substitutes* Roy Ar-
tus de la Grande Bretagne
(184,b,31)

Haures le Bastart

Iherusalez

Joseph d'Arimathie

Joseph, Josephus (author of
alleged Latin original)

Joseph, Josens (son of King
Pelles)

Juifz, les

K(C)amelot, K(C)amalot

Kaos le Roux

Keux (Arthur's squire)

Keux (seneschal)

Loheant

Loth

Lyon, Chastel dyt

Magdalans d'Oriande,
Nagdalans

Marez, Sire (Seigneur) des;
Maretz, Mares

Marin le Gros, Marin le Jaloux

Maures, Isles des

Melians; ——— du Gaste
Chastel (192,a,8)

Gase, Roi de la; Roi de la
Gaite, Roi de la Gaise

Anurez li Bastarz

Jerusalem

Josep(h) d'Arimacie, ———

Abarimacia, ——— d'Abari-
macia, ——— Abarimachia

Josephes, Josep(h), Josephez,
Josefes

Joseus, Josephes, Joseph, Josés,
Josep(s), Josex

Giués, les; Juïs

K(C)amaalot, Camaaloth,
Kamaaloz, Caamaaloth,
Camaalos

Cahot(h) le (li) Roux (Rox),
Kahos

Cahu(s)

Kex, Keu, Ké

Lohout, Lohot, Lohoz, Lohous,
Lohouz

Lot

Lion, Champ del

Madaglan(s) d'Oriande,
Madeglans; Madaglans
d'Orande (7843)

Mares, Sires (Seigneur) des;
Mores, Marez

Marin(s) le (li) Jalox (Jalos)

Mores, Illes des

Melianz, Melians, Meliant,
Melian; Melianz del Gaste
Manoir (7878)

BL

Meliot le Gros, Meliot de Logres
 Meralos de Brandel
 Messos
 My-Party, Chevallier
 Nabigan de la Roche

 Nycodemus Brutus le Gros

 Oliflans, Isle des

 Panoise, Pamoise, Permenoï-
 sence, Pannoiseuse
 Perlevaulx (regular spelling),
 Parlevaulx, Perlevaux,
 Par-luy-fait; Parcevaultx
 (136,b,15)
 Perles
 Pescheur, Roy

 Prudens
 Queste, Chastel de la
 Robeur, Chevallier; Chevallier
 Larron
 Roux Chevallier, Chevallier de
 la Profonde Forest, Roux de
 la Profonde Forest

 Saigremor le Desree, Saigrenor,
 Sagremor
 Saubre

 Souffreteuse, Ysle

O

Melio(t) de Logres, Melioz

 Meralis du Pré du Palés
 Messios
 Partiz Chevaliers
 Nabigan(s) de la Roche,
 Nabigant des Roches, Naba-
 gan des Roches
 Nichodemus, Gais li Gros (see
 discussion below)
 Olifanz, Isle des; Ile des
 Oliphans (5815)
 Pennevoiseuse, Panevoiseuse,
 Pennevoiseuse,
 Perlesvaus(-ax), Pelles-
 vaus(-ax), Perceval, Par-lui-
 fet, Par-lui-fez, Par-lui-fais

 Pelles, Perles
 Pescheur(-or), *nom.* Peschier-
 res, Roi(s); Peschieres,
 Pescherres, Peschierre
 Brudan(s), Brutans
 Enqueste, Chastiax del
 Roberes, Chevaliers

 Rous (Rox) Chevalier(s), Ros
 de la Parfonde Forest, Rous
 de la Parfonde Forest, Rous
 au Lion
 Sagramor(s) li Desreez,
 Saramor(s)
 Salubre

 Souffroitose, Isle

BL

Tintagel, la ville
 d'Amitans (182,d,3)
 Tour de Cuyvre
 Tournoyant, Chastel(-eau)
 Uterpandragon, Uterpendragon,
 Utenpandragon
 Virgille
 Yguerne
 Yglois, Ygloiz
 Yvain l'Avoultre

O

Tintaguel, Titaigue
 Tor de Cuevre
 Tornoiant, Chastel
 Uter, Uter Pandragon
 Virgiles
 Ugerne
 Iglais, Iglai, Yglais
 Yvain(s) l(i) Avo(u)tre(s),
 Ivains li Avotres

It will have been observed from the foregoing lists that in the vast majority of cases the names in *BL* do not differ much more widely from those of *O* than proper names usually differ in manuscripts. Since we do not possess the manuscript that served as the source of *BL*, it is, of course, impossible to determine whether the variations are due to the redactor of the early prints or to the scribe of his manuscript source. It is likely, however, that most of the changes in the spelling of proper nouns are due to the sixteenth-century redactor, who probably was not so familiar with the names of Arthurian romance as were the early scribes. It is not surprising that the letters of an unfamiliar name should have been incorrectly copied, especially if the handwriting of the manuscript source was poor. Most of the names in *BL* are at least recognizable as being the same as their counterparts in the manuscripts, and the change in spelling can usually be accounted for as a hasty or careless transcribing of the source; for example, *Brians des Isles* for *Briens des Isles* and *Meralos* for *Meralis*, in which there is a change of only one vowel; *Perles* for *Pelles*, in which one liquid is substituted for another and in which analogy with the name *Perlesvaus* may have played a part; *Saulbre* for *Salubre*, in which there is a simple metathesis; *Forest Fontaine* for *Forest Soutaine*, in which only the first syllables differ, etc. In the spelling *Haures* for *Anurez*, the syllable *an—* is mistaken for *ha—*. Capital *A* could easily be mistaken

for *H* (cf. spelling *Huielains* in *O*, 9703, which probably derived ultimately from *Alains*). The names *Meliot le Gros* for *Meliot de Logres* and *Marin le Gros* for *Marin li Jalox* are simply analogous formations on *Brutus le Gros*, *Yvain le Gros*, etc.

It is clear, then, that most of *BL*'s changes in the orthography of proper nouns are slight and can be readily explained as errors common to all early copyists. There are a few cases, however, in which we find in *BL* a name entirely different from the corresponding name in any of the manuscripts (*Amitans* for *Titai-gue*, *Gloz de Galles* for *Clef de Gales*, etc.). I have been unable to account satisfactorily for any of these changes with the possible exception of one (the substitution of *Brutus le Gros* for *Gais li Gros*), for which an explanation may be hazarded. In that portion of the romance treating of Perlesvaus' ancestry we find in *O* the following passage:

Li Buens Chevaliers ot une sereur qui ot non Dandrane.
Cil qui fu chiés du lignage de par son pere ot non Nicho-
demus. Gais li Gros de la Croiz des Ermites fu peres
Julain le Gros des Vax de Kamaalot.

(41-43)

The passage in *BL*, which is quite garbled, reads:

Le bon cheuallier eut une seur nommee dôdoine. Nyco-
demus brutus le gros estoit le chief de tout sô lignaige de
par son pere de la natiô des hermites nomme lacionnides
qui fut pere yuain le gros des vaulx de Kamalot.

(123,b,35-39)

In the manuscripts, Nichodemus and Gais li Gros refer to two different ancestors of Perlesvaus; in *BL*, Nichodemus Brutus le Gros evidently refers to only one. The explanation is, perhaps, that the redactor had before him a manuscript that was defective or illegible at this point. The only thing that seems to be clear in this confused passage of *BL* is that the redactor wished to substitute the name *Brutus le Gros* for *Gais li Gros*. The reading of *O* is supported by two of the other manuscripts (*Br*: Gais li Gros, *C*: Gays li Gros, *OAc*: Gauvains le Gros, *Be*: Glais li Gros), and hence must be the right reading. The probable explanation

for the reading of *BL* is that the redactor was familiar with the ancient and wide-spread etymology deriving the name of the Britons from Brutus and wished to make Perlesvaus' ancestry all the more illustrious by giving a distinguished name to the head of his lineage. The legend making Brutus the ancestor of the Britons is rather the property of the chronicles than of the romances, going back to Geoffrey and Nennius and even further.¹ In a rimed chronicle of the fourteenth century entitled *Le Livre du bon Jehan, duc de Bretagne*, Cuvelier writes of his hero as follows:

Comme celui qui est yssu
Principalement et descendu
Du Brut, qui fut nostre patron
Et de qui nous porton le nom;
Car de Brut est dit le Breton
Et Francoz est dit le Francon.²

It is very probable, then, that this popular legend was familiar to the redactor and caused him to substitute the name *Brutus* for *Gais*.

It is interesting to note the manner in which *BL* transcribes the name of Perlesvaus' father. The accepted form of the word, *Alains*, is found regularly only in *C*, which is ordinarily the least reliable of the manuscripts. *O* usually renders it *Julains* or *Yylains*. *BL* spells it *Yvain* consistently in the first thirty-five folios, where it occurs six times, and *Alain* in the remainder of the work, where it is found six times. It may be that the redactor had in his source some such spelling as *Ylains*, which is found in *P*, and, unfamiliar with this name, transcribed it by the well-known *Yvain*. It is hard to account for his consistent rendering of the name as *Alain* in the latter part of the romance. Perhaps he remembered the name *Alain le Gros* which appears frequently in the preceding *Estoire* (104,a,16 and *passim* in the succeeding folios), though the reference there is not to Perlesvaus' father but to Alain, one of the sons of Bron.

¹See chapter entitled "Brutus, Eponymus of the Britons" in J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (2nd ed., Göttingen and Baltimore, 1928), II, 51-53.

²E. Charrière, *Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1839), II, 447.

3. EXPANSIONS AND PARAPHRASES

The tendency of the early printed editions of the *Perlesvaus* is rather toward condensation than toward expansion of the text of their source. There are, however, a number of cases in which passages are considerably augmented and embellished. It is probable that these expansions were made by the sixteenth-century redactor rather than by the scribe of the source manuscript since there is no evidence of such elaborations in any of the extant manuscripts. The following may be cited as typical examples of expansion in the early prints:

Example 1

- O) Li dons li sanbla estre molt granz qant il li fu otroiez, e li guerredons sanbla estre molt petiz a Pilate, car Joseph l'avoit molt bien servi, e s'il li eüst demandé ne or ne terre ne avoir, il li eüst volentiers doné. E por ce li fist Pilates le don du cors au Sauveur, qu'il cuida qu'il le deüst vilainement traîner parmi la cité de Jerusalem qant il l'eüst osté de la croiz, e lessier le cors hors de la cité en aucun vilain leu.

(25-31)

- BL) Et sachez que ce don luy sembla estre mōlt grant qui luy auoit este octroye: mais a pilate ce don sembla estre moult petit. et pource q̄ ioseph lauait bien 7 loyaulmēt seruy 7 deuoit estre bien richement sallarie des seruices quil luy auoit faitz sil eust aussi bien demande grāt sōme dor et dargent pour ses salaires pylate les y eust baillees en or ou argent tres volentiers. et pour ce luy fist pylate don du corps de ihesucrist car pylate cuydoit quil deust faire du corps de nostre saulueur ihesucrist ung observable vitupere 7 quil le deust traisner par toutes les rues de iherusalez en signe de derrision 7 quil le deust laisser en quelq̄ lieu villain ort 7 puant hors ou dedans la cite.

(123,b,7-21)

Example 2

- O) E por ce la velt il tenir a cel jor, que la Pentecoste estoit trop pres, ne n'i poissent pas tel estre qui dont ierent.

(573-575)

- BL) . . . et pource que plusieurs neussent pas peu venir de si loïg au iour de pēthecouste il fist assauoir que ce seroit a la saïct iehan apres affin q̄ ung chascun y peust venir 7 auoir le tēps a loysir dy estre car plusieurs vindrent a ce iour la qui neussent sceu venir a la penthecouste pource quelle estoit trop pres.

(128,b,16-23)

Example 3

- O) Ele sailli sus, si li fist la graignor joie que damoisele feïst onques a chevalier nul. Ele ne set qu'ele puist faire, tant est joieuse; tuit cil qui la voient ont pitié de la joie que ele maine de son frere en plorant.

(8890-92)

- BL) elle saillit incontinent sus piedz/ 7 le vint embrasser et baiser et luy fist la plus grant ioye que damoyselle fist oncques a cheuallier en telle maniere quelle ne scet quelle puisse faire tāt est ioyeuse de sa venue en faisāt deuāt tous les plus grans regretz quō scauroit faire. 7 alors tous ceulx qui la veoyēt auoyent grant pitie de la ioye quelle demenoit pour son frere et tous plouroient et gemissoient en leurs cueurs pour lamour quilz auoyent a la Damoyselle seur de Perleuaulx.

(200-d,54-201,a,10)

It is significant that in the first example of expansion quoted above, the sixteenth-century redactor seems to take great delight in embellishing this passage of Biblical inspiration. In

his study of the prose adaptations of the *chansons de geste* and the romances in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in France, Emile Besch concludes that "d'une façon générale, les romans livrés à l'impression se présentent comme des œuvres d'esprit bourgeois, mais de rédaction cléricale et savante."³ While the adaptations of the romances of the Round Table suffered less alteration at the hands of the redactors than did the *chansons de geste*,⁴ still their clerical and bourgeois flavor is, in general, unmistakable. In the case of the early printed editions of the *Perlesvaus*, the ecclesiastical bent of the redactor is very noticeable. Of some fifteen cases of more extended embellishment of the manuscript source, six are passages of Biblical or ecclesiastical content. In addition, there are many examples of insertions of words and phrases showing the clerical bent of the redactor. The following passages are offered in further illustration of the ecclesiastical inspiration of the work:

Example 1

- O) . . . et li rois se mist a genoillons par defors la chapele,
et commença Dieu a proier et a batre sa cope.

(313-314)

- BL) Le Roy se mist a genoulx luy estât hors la Chappelle et
commença faire son oraison en grant deuotion et adorer
son saulueur/ Bat sa poitrine plusieurs foys en cryant
mercy a nostre seigneur Jhesucrist que il luy vouldist
pardonner toutes ses offences.

(125,d,32-37)

Example 2

- O) "Vos savez bien, fait li prestres, que par la pome que
Eve fist mengier a Adan alerent autresi en enfer li bon

³"Les Adaptations en prose des chansons de geste," *Rev. XVIe S.*, III (1915), 155-181.

⁴Cf. N. H. Clement, *The Influence of the Arthurian Romances on the Five Books of Rabelais* (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. XII, No. 3), Berkeley, 1926, p. 153.

comme li mal, et por son pople giter d'enfer devint
Diex hom, et gita ses amis fors d'enfer par sa bonté et
par sa poissance."

(2176-80)

BL) . . . vous scauez fait le prestre que pour la pōme que
eue fist manger a adam contre le commandement de
dieu quil faillit quant il mourut quil descēdist aux
enfers 7 y descēdoiyēt aussi bien les bons que les
mauuais/ 7 pour getter hors le peuple des enfers nostre
saulueur iesucrist deuint homme sur terre: et quant
il fut crucifie et mort il descendit aux enfers 7 getta
hors ses amys par sa bonte et puissance/

(142,d,13-21)

The bourgeois spirit, which, according to M. Besch, characterizes the early printed editions of the romances, is not very marked in the case of the *Perlesvaus*. Only one curious example can be cited, but it is unquestionably bourgeois in its spirit and seems quite incongruous in its context. In the account of Gawain's visit to the castle of the Orgueilleuse Pucelle, who was seeking the three best knights in the world (Lancelot, Gawain, and Perlesvaus), we find the following passage:

. . . et ele avoit commandé a .iiii. de ses chevaliers qui
la forest gardoient e les trespas, se nus de cez trois
chevaliers i passast, q'il li amenassent sanz contredit,
e ele encroistroit a chascun sa terre.

(1479-82)

BL paraphrases this passage somewhat and makes a decidedly materialistic addition. The citation from *BL* runs as follows:

. . . 7 souuēt auoit mis ses gardes aux trespas affī q̄
se nul des troys cheualiers passoit par la quilz les ad-
menassent sans contredict. Et a ceulx qui les pourroyent
admener croissoit a chascun son heritaige *de plus de
mille liures de rente*.

(136,c,7-11)

Under the heading of paraphrase, attention should be called to the sixteenth-century redactor's fondness for changing the direct discourse of his manuscript source into indirect discourse. The resulting loss in vividness of style is well illustrated by the following examples:

Example 1

- O) Puis amainne la dame du chastel a Monseigneur Gavain, e il se drece contre li. "Dame, fet il, bien puissiez vos venir!— E vos soiez bien venuz, sire chevaliers," fet ele, e le prent par la main e le maine en ses chanbres.— "Sire, fet ele, volez vos veoir ma chapele? — Damoisele, fet Messire Gavains, a vostre plesir." E ele li mostre.
(1444-49)

- BL) . . . puis le mena vers la dame 7 la dame viêt vers monseigneur gauuain 7 le salue humblement 7 lui elle. Si le prent la dame par la main et le maine veoir son chastel par toutes les châbres et tournelles et le va mener veoir sa chapelle . . .
(136,a,30-35)

Example 2

- O) "Sire chevalier, fet il a Monseigneur Gavain, ge vos pri que vos arestez.—Que plect vos, biax sire? fet Messire Gavains.—Il vos covient, fet il, joster a moi et conquerre cest escu, o ge vos conqerré . . ."
(785-788)

- BL) Si escrye a messire Gauuain que il sarreste. Lors se arresta et luy demande que il luy plaist. Et le cheualier respond. Il vous cōuiêt iouster a moy 7 cōquerre cest escu ou ie vous conquerray.
(130,b,6-10)

A very common type of paraphrase in the early printed editions of the *Perlesvaus* is the substitution of general for specific terms. In many cases, the explanation is, no doubt, that

the specific names of foods, weapons, articles of clothing, etc., were unfamiliar to sixteenth-century readers and perhaps even to the redactor himself. However that may be, this use of general for specific terms detracts greatly from the picturesqueness of the style. The following examples will illustrate:

Example 1

- O) Si com il chevauchoit par la plaine terre, il esgarda vers la cité si en vit issir grant compaignie de genz, et avoit avec aux grant noise de muses et de flageux et de vièles et d'autres estrumenz.

(3504-07)

- BL) ainsi comme il aprochoit de celle cite il voit yssir hors la porte grant multitude de gēs *lesq̄lz auoyēt avec eulx plusieurs sortes dinstrumēs de quoy ilz sōnoyēt.*

(154,d,1-4)

Example 2

- O) Misire Gavains fist le roi asoir *desor .i. rice coute de paille*; après le fist desarmer au vaslet, e il meïsme se desarma; puis laverent lor viaires e lor mains por le fer donc chascun estoit camoisiez. Misire Gavains trova les cofres desfermez qui estoient au cevés de la couche. Il fist lo roi vestir *blans dras deliez* que il i trova, e parer de *rices robes de dras de soie*. Il meïsme se vesti en itel maniere, car li cofre n'estoient mie desgarni, car la tente estoit garnie de rices garnemenz.

(6749-55)

- BL) Messire Gauvain fist seoir le roy *sur une couchette* et le fist desarmer et quant ilz furent tous deux desarmez et lauerent leurs mains 7 leurs visaiges. Messire Gauvain alla aux coffres qui estoient ouuers et print *de belles robbes* quil bailla au Roy puis en print une pour soy et la vestit/ Car assez en y auoit.

(182,b,37-43)

Finally, under the caption of paraphrases, mention may be made of the changes introduced through the redactor's failure to understand the text of the original. On the whole, such changes are less frequent than one would expect, considering the great difference between the French of the sixteenth and the thirteenth centuries. We have just seen that the redactor sometimes substitutes general for specific terms when the latter are not clear to him. At other times he will omit a word, a phrase, or a clause when the exact meaning is unintelligible to him. This will be clear from a comparison of the following corresponding passages in *O* and *BL* from the description of the combat between Gawain and the Sire des Mares. It will be noted that the redactor of *BL* fails to take into account the passages (indicated by italics) containing difficult and unusual words.

- O) Il choisi Monseigneur Gavain e va vers lui grant aleüre e cuide vengier sa honte, e s'entrefierent. *Messire Gavains le fiert du tronçon qui li ert remés enmi le piz si q'il le desconroie tot*, e li Sires des Mares rebrise son glaive seur lui. Messire Gavains tret l'espee e *giete le trox a terre*, e li Sires des Mares ensement; e commande a sa gent qu'il ne se mellent d'eus .ii., car il ne trova onques chevalier qu'il ne conquist. Il se donnent granz cox des espees seur les hiaumes, si que les estenceles en volent *e les espees oschent*. Li cop Monseigneur Gavain sont grengneur que li autre, etc.

(1169-78)

- BL) si le choisyt et va vers luy grant alleure et se cuyde venger de sa honte et sentrefierent durement tellement quilz briserent leurs lances et messire Gauvain trait lespee/ et le seigneur des mares la sienne et commande a ses gens que on le laisse faire et qui (*sic*) ne se meslent point deulx/ car onques ne trouua cheuallier qui le conquist: ilz sentredonnent si grât coups des espees sur leurs heaulmes si q̄ les estincelles de feu en volent/ et sôt les coups de messire gauvain plus grans, etc.

(133,c,43-133,d,8)

In a great many cases, however, the redactor makes an attempt to change difficult passages that he does not understand, with the result that his reading is often nonsensical. One curious example will illustrate. Gawain is riding through a forest with the three Damsels of the Cart drawn by the three white harts. As they approach the castle of the Black Hermit, a knight comes forth and challenges Gawain.

“Sire chevalier, fet il a Monseigneur Gavain, ge vos pri que vos arestez.—Que plect vos, biax sire? fet Messire Gavains.—Il vos covient, fet il, joster a moi e conquerre cest escu, o ge vos conqerré; e li escuz est molt riches, si vos devez en grant painne metre d’avoir le e de congerre, car il fu au meilleur chevalier qui onques fust de sa loi e au plus poissant e au plus sage.—Qui fu il dons? fet Messires Gavains.—*Il fu Judas Machabeus, cil qui afeta un oisel a prendre l’autre.*

(785-792)

BL renders the italicized passage as follows: *il fut fait il a iudas machabeus celluy a qui moysse fist aprendre lettre* (130,b,14-15). The reading of *BL* is, of course, nonsensical, yet its source must have contained a reading similar to that of *O* since the other manuscripts (*C Br P Be*) all concur with *O* except for unimportant details. The reading of *BL*, furthermore, contains approximately the same letters as that of *O*, though their peculiar combination gives them a quite different meaning. The passage in the manuscripts evidently refers to a legend concerning Judas Machabeus as the founder of falconry. The Book of the Maccabees offers only the following passage which might have been interpreted as portraying Judas Machabeus as a hunter: “*Similis factus est leoni in operibus suis, et sicut catulus leonis rugiens in venatione.*” (*Liber I Machabaeorum*, iii, 4). In the Old French prose translation of the Book of the Maccabees, this passage is rendered as follows: “Il devint ausi come leons en ses oueres e ausi come li leoncel coroit quant aloit proier.”⁵ These words in them-

⁵Cf. E. Goerlich, *Die beiden Bücher der Makkabäer* (Rom. Bibl. II) (Halle, 1888), p. 8.

selves, however, could hardly have given rise to a legend making Judas Machabeus the originator of falconry, a legend far more medieval than Biblical in its spirit. A more pertinent passage is found in the Old French rimed version of the Book of the Maccabees. It runs as follows:

Il prie deu et sa loi honoreie,
 K'il face tant, ke s'arme soit saueie,
 Defende [lui] et tote sa contreie,
 Sa gent somont ki tost fut apresteie.
Machabeus muet al puint de la jorneie,
*Par un ostor (ki) vole de randoneie . . .*⁶

From the beginning of this passage through the remaining 230 verses, according to Gaston Paris,⁷ the rimed version of the Book of the Maccabees has nothing corresponding to it in its Biblical source. Whether this passage is of the chronicler's invention or from some other source, it is clear that the name Judas Machabeus is associated with falconry as early as the early thirteenth or late twelfth century, which is, according to Stengel, the date of the rimed versions. That the legend was well known is indicated by the wording of the passage in the *Perlesvaus*.

4. ABRIDGMENTS

There are two major abridgments of episodes in the early printed editions of the *Perlesvaus*. The first of these occurs in the account of Lancelot's visit to the chapel of Avalon. The content of one column of *O* is, on the average, represented by fifty lines in the early prints. In this passage, however, the content of slightly more than two columns of *O* is condensed into forty-two lines in *BL*. Nothing could better reveal the redactor's lack of literary judgment than this slighting of an episode which is unquestionably one of the best in the entire romance. Because

⁶E. Stengel, "Frammenti di una versione libera dei libri dei Maccabei in decasillabi antico-francesi," *Riv. di fil. rom.*, II (1875), 85, vss. 92-97.

⁷*Romania*, IV (1875), 498.

of the importance of this passage to Arthurian scholarship, it is here quoted in full as found in *O* and *BL*. It will be noted that the description of the interior of the chapel and the account of Lancelot's grief at the news of Guenevere's death are particularly condensed in *BL*. This is probably due to the fact that the redactor saw the inconsistency of dwelling too much on the death of Guenevere, since in the following *Queste* she is alive again!

O

Il esgarde a destre desor la montaigne de la valee, e voit .i. chapele novelement faite, qui mout estoit bele e riche; si estoit coverte de plon, e avoit par desore .ii. croiz, qui sembloient estre d'or. [D]ejuste la chapele avoit .iii. maisons mult belement herbegies, e estoit chascunne par soi, si joignoient a la chapele. Il avoit mout bel chimentire environ, qui clos estoit a la roomde de la forest, e descemdoit .i. fontaigne mout clere de la hautece de la forest par devant la chapele, e coroit en la valee. A chascunne des maisons avoit grant vergié, e chascun avoit son clos. Lanceloz oï vespres chamter en la chapele. Il vit .i. semtier qui cele part s'en tornoit, mais la montaigne estoit si roiste que il n'i pot mie monter a cheval, ainz descemdi, si le traist par la rene après soi, tant que il vint devant la chapele. Il avoit .iii. hermites la dedenz, qui les vespres avoient chamtees. Il vinrent encontre Lancelot, si l'enclinerent. Il les salua, puis lor demanda quel liu c'estoit iluec, e il li distrent que c'ert l'Isle d'Avalon. Il li font son ceval establer. Il lait ses armes par defors la chapele, puis est entré dedenz, e dit que il ne vit onques mais si bele ne tant riche. Il voit la dedenz .iii. autels mout beaus e mout bien aornez de riches draz de soie e de riches croiz d'or e de philatieres. Il voit les images e les crucefiz tot novelement faiz, e la chapele enluminee de riches colors d'or. Il avoit en miliu de la chapele .ii. sarchous, e avoit a[s] .iiii. ciés .iiii. estavax ardanz, qui fichié estoient en .iiii. riches chamdelabres. Li sarchou estoient couvert de .ii. pailles, si verseilloient cler d'une part e d'autre. "Sire, fait Lanceloz a .i. des hermites, por qui furent cil sarchou fait?—Sire, por le roi Artu e por la roïne Guenievre.—Ja n'est mie li roi morz, fait Lanceloz.—Non, sire, se Deu plaist, mais li cors de la roïne gist en cel sarchou devers vos, e en l'autre est li cief de son fil, dusc'a icele hore que li rois iert finez, a qui Dex doinst longe vie; mais la roïne dist a la mort que on meist son cors dejuste le suen. De ce avon nos ses letres e son seel. Ceste chapele e cest liu fist ele renoverer en itel maniere, anchois qu'ele morust."

Quant Lanceloz oï que c'est la roïne qui gist eu sarchou, il a le cuer si estraint e la parole que il ne puet mot dire, mais il n'ose faire autre samblant, que l'on ne l'aperchoive. Ce li fu granz conforz que ele avoit .i. image de Nostre Dame a son cief. Il s'agenoïla au plus pres que il pot d'un sarchou, ausi con por l'image aorer, e mist son viaire e ses eus e sa boche a la pierre dou sarchou, e regrete mout docement: "A! dame, fait il, se je ne dotoie le blasme de la gent, je ne me vouroie jamais partir de cest liu; e sauveroie m'ame e proieroie por la vostre, si me seroit grans conforz que je verroie la sepulture en coi vostre cors gist, qui tant ot de douchor e d'onor e de bien. A! Dex, consentez moi par vostre plaisir que je puise estre a la mort prochain, e que je muire en itel liu que je puise estre enseveliz e enterrez en ceste sainte chapele o cest cors gist." La nuit aprocha. Un clerc vint as hermites, e si lor dist c'onques mais nus chevaliers si docement ne pria Deu ne sa mere com li chevaliers fait qui dedenz la chapele est, e li hermite respondent que plusor chevalier croient mout bien en Deu. Il viennent en la chapele por lui. Il li dient que sa viande est preste, e que il vienge mengier; après ira dormir e reposer, car il en est bien tans. Il lor dist que de son mengier est il huïmais niens, car talent li est pris e volenté venue de veillier en la chapele devant l'image de Nostre Dame. Il ne s'en quiert mais partir devant le jor, e vouroit que la nuit durast plus que ne fera. Li prodom ne l'osent desdire de sa volenté, ançois dient que il est de mout bone vie qui en tel maniere veillera icele [nuit] sanz boivre e sanz mengier, si semble estre molt travailleiez. Lanceloz fu en la chapele tresqu'a l'endemain devant le sarqueu. Li hermite s'apareillierent por fere le servise, car il chantoient chascun jor trois messes por l'ame la roïne e por la son fil. Lanceloz les oï molt volentiers. Qant les messes furent chantees, il prist congié as hermites. . .

(7571-7630)

BL

Et il regarde a dextre sur une montaigne et voit une chappelle nouvellement fondee qui estoit mōlt belle et moult riche 7 si estoit couverte de plomb et auoit par dessus deux croix qui sembloient estre dor. Iouste la chappelle y auoit troys maisons moult bien faictes et estoit chascune a par soy si ioignoyent a la chappelle et y auoit ung moult beau Cymetiere tout enuiron clos. Et si descendoit une fontaine moult clere de la haultesse de la montaigne par derriere la chappelle et courroit a la vallee A chascune des maisons auoit ung grant vergier 7 chascune auoit son clos. Lancelot ouyt chanter vespres a la chappelle/ il vit ung sentier

qui celle part retournoit/ mais la môtaigne estoit si droicte quil ny pouoit pas monter a cheual ains descendit et maine son cheual par la resne apres soy tant quil vint en la chappelle ou il y auoit hermites dedans qui les vespres auoyent chantees/ Ilz vindrent encontre lācelot si le saluerent et il les salua Puis leur demanda quel lieu cestoit illecques. Et ilz luy dirent que cestoit lysle dauallon. Ilz luy font son cheual establer et laisser ses armes par dehors la Chappelle. Puis est entre dedans et dict que il nen vit oncques de si belle ne si riche. Sire faict lancelet a ung des hermites pourquoy furent ses sercueilz faiz. sire pour le roy artus et pour la royne Genieure et pour son filz. Ja nest mye mort faict lancelet. Non sire se dieu plaist: mais la royne Genieure gist la en ce serueil deuers vous. Et loheant le filz du roy en lautre. Quant Lancelot ouyt que la royne genieure gysoit en ce serueil il eut le cueur si estrainct et la parolle quil ne peult mot dire: Ha dame faict il se ie ne doubtoyes la hôte des gens ie ne vouldroyes iamais partir de ce lieu La nuyct approcha ung clerc vint aux hermites. Si leur dict que oncques Cheuallier ne prya iamais si doulcemēt dieu ne sa mere cōe le Cheuallier faict qui est en la Chappelle. Il print congie des Hermites.

(189,c,20-189,d,34)

The second major abridgment occurs in that portion of the account of Perlesvaus' visit to the mysterious isle in which the priest describes to him the "Isle Plantureuse" and the "Isle Souffreteuse" and in the immediately following account of Perlesvaus' visit to the island on which he delivers his cousin Colobrinus (*O* : Calobrus) from prison (*BL*: 207,b,39-207,d,9; *O*: 9619-9711). Here we have a little more than three columns in *O* condensed to sixty lines in *BL*.

Aside from the two major abridgments noted above, there are some twenty-five less important ones involving less than a paragraph. In addition to these, there are many insignificant ones involving single sentences, of which no account has been taken. The minor abridgments occur usually in descriptive passages, particularly in accounts of battles.

5. OMISSIONS

There are only three omissions of any length or importance in the early prints of the *Perlesvaus*. No account is taken here

of the numerous omissions of individual words, phrases, or clauses that do not interfere with the progress of the narrative. Such minor omissions occur chiefly in the abridged passages which have been treated above. The three major omissions in *BL* are the following: 1) The account of the "chalice" and the "bell" at the celebration of the mass in the castle with the three names (*BL*, 187,a,6; *O*, 7221-54). 2) The priest's story of Gawain's birth and youthful training in Rome (*BL*, 187,c,6; *O*, 7297-7332). 3) The last paragraph of *O*, in which the author gives his blessing to his readers, states that the Latin source from which the romance was drawn came from "T'Isle d'Avalon en une sainte meson de religion" where King Arthur and his queen are buried, and vouches for the absolute truth of his narration.

It is impossible to state with certainty whether the first two of the foregoing omissions were made by the sixteenth-century redactor or by the scribe of *BL*'s manuscript source. The probability is great, however, that they were made by the redactor of the early prints. He very likely felt that the book was becoming too long and for that reason omitted two minor episodes. The tendency to omit and to abridge is more marked toward the end of the romance, and this tendency is even more pronounced in the following *Queste*. The omission of the last paragraph of the *Perlesvaus* can be accounted for more plausibly. It will be remembered that in the early editions the *Perlesvaus* is immediately followed by the *Queste*, which, in spite of its inappropriateness, is made to form the last branch of the second volume of the entire work. If the redactor had included the last paragraph of the *Perlesvaus*, he would have given too much of an air of finality to the preceding romance and could not so readily have effected the transition to the *Queste*.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

The Old French prose romance *Perlesvaus* was twice printed in the sixteenth century in Paris, the first edition (*BL*) appearing in 1516 and the second (*BL'*) in 1523. In both of these editions, the *Perlesvaus* is preceded by the Vulgate *Estoire del Saint Graal* and followed by a condensed version of the Vulgate *Queste del Saint Graal*. Each edition consists of two volumes in one binding, the first volume containing the *Estoire* and the second the *Perlesvaus* and the *Queste*. Both editions, which are small folio in size, are printed in Gothic letter with two columns to the page and forty-five lines to the column. Both contain numerous full-page and smaller woodcuts. The extant copies of these editions are very rare, the most accessible being a copy of each in the Bibliothèque Nationale and in the British Museum.

It is not known why the sixteenth-century redactor chose the three above-mentioned romances to be printed in one book. The *Perlesvaus* is decidedly out of place between the other two, and yet the redactor evidently wished them to be considered as forming a sequence. The linking between the *Perlesvaus* and the *Queste* is made in an especially awkward manner. Immediately after the text of the former, the *Queste* begins without any break with the statement that the last branch of the work is now beginning, in spite of the fact that a last branch of the *Perlesvaus* had been announced several folios before. The redactor also disregards the fact that in the preceding romance *Perlesvaus* and *Guenevere* had died, for in the succeeding narrative they are both alive again. It was, no doubt, the strongly religious and allegorical spirit common to the *Estoire*, the *Perlesvaus*, and the *Queste* which led the sixteenth-century redactor to select these three romances for his work. He seems, furthermore, to have been particularly interested in the doctrine of the Trinity. The fact that this doctrine is given some prominence in the *Perlesvaus* no doubt greatly influenced him in choosing it for his trilogy

rather than one of the romances of the Vulgate Cycle intervening between the *Estoire* and the *Queste*. Less interested in the events of the romances than in their religious significance, he cared little about the inconsistencies and contradictions that naturally arose from their being joined into a sequence.

The *privilège* of the 1516 edition, which is dated January 27, 1514 (O. S.), informs us that royal permission to print the work was granted to Galiot Du Pré for a period of three years. The colophon tells us that the printing was completed September 25, 1516, by Jehan Petit, Galiot Du Pré, and Michel Le Noir. A study of the history of sixteenth-century printing and publishing in France reveals that Galiot Du Pré and Jehan Petit were publishers and booksellers only and that Michel Le Noir was a *libraire imprimeur*. The printer's mark on the title-page shows that Michel Le Noir was unquestionably the printer of the 1516 edition. Consequently, although the *privilège* for the printing of the book was granted to Galiot Du Pré, his connection with the work seems to have been only in the capacity of publisher. As was the case with several of his publications, he produced the work in conjunction with two of his colleagues: namely, Jehan Petit, who probably only shared the expenses of publication and helped him market the book, and Michel Le Noir, whose chief duty was the actual printing of the work. It is extremely probable, if not certain, that Galiot Du Pré had no hand in the textual work of the edition. There is no mention of the name of the redactor anywhere in either edition of *Le Sainct Greaal*.

A collation of the two early printed editions of the *Perlesvaus* reveals that *BL'* is a direct, almost word for word, copy of *BL*. This is attested by the following evidence: (1) The faulty pagination of *BL* is blindly reproduced by *BL'*. (2) Corresponding folios of the two editions contain exactly the same amount of material. (3) The faulty readings of *BL* are slavishly copied by *BL'*, the redactor of the latter making no attempt to correct them by referring to a manuscript of the *Perlesvaus*. The colophon of *BL'* states that the printing of this edition was completed on October 24, 1523. From the printer's mark on the title-page and a statement in the colophon, we learn that Philippe Le Noir was both the printer and the publisher of the 1523 edition.

A complete collation of the early printed editions of the *Perlesvaus* with the extant manuscripts has established the following facts:

1) The manuscripts and early prints fall into two very clearly defined groups, *X* and *X'*, to the former of which belong *O C OAc W BL*; and to the latter, *P Br Be*. This grouping is based on additions or omissions common to the members of each group and on agreements in reading among members of each family occurring with such great frequency as to preclude any doubt as to their definite filiation. While it is impossible to state with certainty which of these groups is the closer to the original, the evidence is mostly in favor of Group *X*. The concision and stylistic economy of manuscript *O*, which best represents the *X* redaction, make it appear probable that this manuscript stands closer to the original than does any manuscript of Group *X'*. Furthermore, a statement in the colophon of *Br* indicates that this manuscript, or its entire group, belongs to a second redaction.

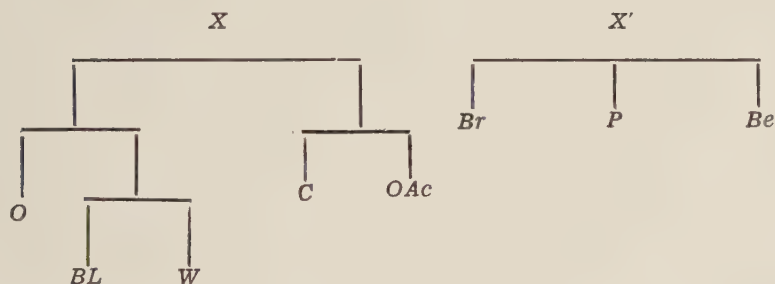
2) *BL* is based on a manuscript of Group *X* without contamination from *X'*. The few cases of seeming agreement with manuscripts from Group *X'* readily yield to explanations other than contamination.

3) *BL* is derived from neither *C* nor *OAc*, which form a sub-group, nor is it contaminated by them. *OAc* could not have been its source since it contains only the first branch of the romance, which is here used as an introduction to two manuscripts of the Vulgate *Queste*. Frequent lacunae that are found in *C* but not in *BL* and consistent agreements in readings between *O* and *BL* against *C* prove conclusively that *C* could not have been the source of *BL*. The few examples of apparent agreement between *C* and *BL* against *O* can be readily explained without supposing contamination except for one isolated case. Since this case is unique, however, and since a possible explanation can be offered for it, we may conclude that *BL* is not contaminated by *C*.

4) The relationship of *O*, *BL*, and *W* to one another cannot be established with certainty, since *BL* is a sixteenth-century adaptation of the *Perlesvaus* and *W* is a free Welsh

version, which I have had to consult in an English translation. There are several cases of agreement, however, which point toward a probable filiation between *O* and *BL*, while the evidence justifies us in asserting with more confidence that *BL* and *W* form a sub-group.

My conclusions as to the filiation of the manuscripts may be represented graphically as follows:



A study of the manner in which the sixteenth-century redactor of the *Perlesvaus* used his manuscript source has revealed that, in general, the following is fairly close in approximately two-thirds of the romance. There are no new episodes, and the order of the episodes is the same. Aside from the modernization of the language, the changes consist chiefly of 1) faulty transcriptions of proper names, 2) expansions and paraphrases, 3) abridgments, and 4) omissions of individual passages. With few exceptions, the proper names in *BL* correspond approximately to those of the manuscripts, following *O* somewhat more closely than the others. In his adaptation of the text, the redactor tends to abridge rather than to expand. His abridgments usually occur in descriptive passages, especially of battles, and his omissions are generally short, consisting usually of single words and phrases. There are only three omissions of any great length, the longest corresponding to a little less than two columns in MS *O*. None of these omissions detracts appreciably from the narrative. There are only two major abridgments of episodes, the more im-

portant of which occurs in the account of Lancelot's visit to the chapel of Avalon. This slighting of one of the best incidents in the romance does not speak highly for the redactor's sense of literary values. In the *BL* passage, the description of Lancelot's grief upon hearing of the death of Guenevere is particularly abridged. The redactor no doubt felt the inconsistency of dwelling too much on Guenevere's death since in the following *Queste* she is alive again! Of the changes introduced because of the redactor's failure to understand the text of his source, some are curious or nonsensical, but, on the whole, they are fewer in number than might be expected. A study of the expanded passages of the early prints furnishes the only bit of evidence as to who the redactor may have been. Of some fifteen cases of more extended embellishment of the manuscript source, six are passages of Biblical or ecclesiastical content, and the evident pleasure with which he expands these passages reveals the unquestioned clerical bent of the redactor. In addition to these longer expansions, there are numerous additions of single words and phrases revealing the same tendency. In his paraphrases, the redactor very frequently substitutes indirect for direct discourse, and he is fond of substituting general for specific terms—two *procédés* which detract greatly from the vividness and the picturesqueness of the style of the original. Stylistically, the early printed editions are greatly inferior to the manuscripts of the *Perlesvaus*.

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